

William Douglas Esq^r
THE *of Brighton*

L I V E S

Of several Ancient and Illustrious

M E N,

Omitted by

P L U T A R C H:

V I Z.

ÆNEAS.		L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
TULLUS HOSTILIUS.		GELO.
ARISTOMENES.		CYRUS.
TARQUIN <i>the Elder.</i>		JASON.

Faithfully extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians.

By *THO. ROWE.*

L O N D O N:

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THE
LIVE
MILK
BOTTLES
BY THE
DOCTOR
FOR THE
SICK

TO THE
READER.

NOTHING is more just and reasonable than that the Lives of illustrious Men, famous for their love of Learning, Liberty, and their Country, should be transmitted to Posterity; not only that an honourable Regard may be paid to their Memory, but to excite in others a just Ambition to excell. Virtue, when 'tis seen only in Description and Precept, appears with feeble and languid Charms; but when she lives and acts in the Hero, the Patriot, the Philosopher, and is represented in all the various scenes of a great and good Man's Life, appears with resistless Beauty, and warms with Desire and Love the Mind of every Beholder.

To the READER.

Biography therefore is of the greatest Use and Service to Mankind, when the Subjects are well chosen, and Characters represented with Truth and Judgment. In this kind of Writing Plutarch hath excelled. Those great Men, he hath transmitted to us an account of, are rendred immortal by his Pen, and their Virtues and Vices stand upon everlasting Record, either for the Imitation or Abhorrence of all succeeding Ages.

The Lives here presented to the Reader, were designed as a Supplement to those of Plutarch, and upon a Comparison will appear, to say the least, far from a Disgrace to the best of those written by that learned Philosopher. The Materials of them are collected with the greatest Judgment and Care, and the Lives themselves too remarkable to be forgotten, whether we consider the greatness of their Characters, or the various and surprizing turns of Fortune or rather Providence that attended them.

The

To the READER.

The Author of them, the late Mr. Thomas Rowe, by his universal Acquaintance with the Learning of the ancient Greeks and Romans, was every way fit to supply the present defects of Plutarch. The Reader will be pleased to see these Patriots and Hero's arise, by his Descriptions, out of the Ruins of Antiquity, their Laurels growing fresh, and their Zeal for Honour and their Country's Welfare set in that just view, that our modern Patriots may know, that Riches and Honour once were the Rewards only of true Virtue, and a steady Pursuit of the publick Good.

His excellent Judgment in distinguishing the real from the fabulous part of History, and his thorough Knowledge of all the polite parts of Literature, admirably qualified him for this kind of Writing. And his Design was as extensive as his Ability. The Lives here offered to the Publick were but a Specimen of what he intended farther. He thought it unjust that the best Men of ancient Times should lye buried in eternal Obscurity; and had he not been prevented

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To the READER.

prevented by a tender Constitution, and a too hasty Death, he would have obliged the World with a complete Collection of the Lives of those ancient and illustrious Men, which either Plutarch hath omitted, or which if wrote by him are now entirely lost.

He had the Benefit of a very liberal Education, which joyned to the greatness of his own natural Abilities, improved by hard Study and vast Reading, made him a thorough Master of Antiquity, at an Age when others generally begin their Enquiries into it; and had he lived out the common Course of Years, I doubt not but his Name would have been mentioned amongst those polite and learned Gentlemen, whose Writings will ever secure them an honourable Remembrance and Character.

But while he was preparing to make the Publick Gainers by his own Improvements, and to excite in his own Countrymen the Love of Liberty and Virtue, by setting before them the Example of the

2 Ancients;

To the READER.

Ancients; his Death, which happened about the 28th Year, prevented him from the Service he intended, and the World from receiving the Pleasure and Advantage of his farther Labours.

But I shall detain my Reader no longer from the Satisfaction of perusing these valuable Remains, than to add, that he must be insensible to true Merit, and to all just Regards for the publick Good, that can look over them without finding in himself a due Respect and Esteem raised for the Author, and his own Heart inspired with an encreasing Love to the Liberties and Welfare of his Country.

London
Feb. 5th 1728.

Sam. Chandler.

William Douglas Esq.
of Brighton

THE
L I F E
O F
Æ N E A S.

§. 1. **Æ**NEAS may not improperly be put at the Head of the *Roman* Heroes. The Historians of that City have been always accustom'd to look upon him as its Founder. He rais'd a little Empire in those Parts, where *Rome* was afterwards built by Persons who were almost all descended from him and his Companions. With him indeed the *Roman* History may be said to begin. What we have before his Time is very inconsiderable, the few historical Facts being so mixt with Fables, that 'tis no easy Matter to separate the Truth from the Additions made to it.

§. 2. It must be own'd, that the Case is something like this in the History of *Æneas* himself. The former Part of his Life is extremely barren, and there is too great a Mixture of Fables through-

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out

out the whole of it. Yet as the *Roman* Historians have dwelt more particularly on the latter Actions of this Hero, we have several Facts more exactly and purely told, than might have been expected from the Age he lived in; in most of the Accounts of which we are used to have only the first Glimmerings of faithful History.

§. 3. The Family of the^a Kings of *Troy*, from which *Æneas* was descended, deriv'd its Original from the fabulous Gods of Antiquity. *Assaracus*, the great Grandson to *Dardanus* the first King of that Family, was a younger Brother; and when the elder Son *Ilus* reign'd in *Troy*, then newly built, he remain'd in the Province of *Dardania*, where that Prince had first settled, who gave Name to it. *Assaracus* left that Principality to his Posterity. *Anchises* his Grandson was Father of *Æneas*. The Reputation of *Æneas* made it necessary, according to the establish'd Custom of those Ages, that he should be look'd upon as the Offspring of some Deity. Every one knows that *Venus* was the Goddess, whom the Writers of Fables chose for his Mother. Perhaps the Beauty of his real Parent gave Occasion for that Choice. ^b The Author that amused himself in Enquiries about the true Mother of *Æneas*, and publish'd a Discourse with that Ti-

^a Homer Il. 20. v. 230. Apollod. l. 3. c. 11. Diod. Sic. l. 4. p. 191.

^b Didymus. Sen. Ep. 88.

tle, has been juſtly enough expoſ'd for the Vanity of his Undertaking.

§. 4. We have no other Account of *Æneas's* Education, than that he had ^c *Chiron* for his Governor, a Man under whom moſt of the great Perſons of that Age were bred. From him *Æneas* learn'd all the Accompliſhments of an Hero, of which Hunting ſeemed to be then look'd upon the moſt diſtinguiſhing. After this he married *Creuſa*, who is ſuppos'd to have been the Daughter of *Priamus*, the laſt King of *Troy*. He lived ſeveral Years in *Dardania*, enjoying a long Repoſe in common with the whole Kingdom.

§. 5. The Violence of *Paris* put an End to the publick Happineſs. That Prince, who was one of the King's younger Sons, went a travelling with a numerous Attendance, and at laſt arriv'd at the Court of *Sparta*. He was receiv'd by *Menelaus*, the King of that Country, with the utmoſt Hoſpitality, and very gratefully rewarded his Kindneſs, by entering into an Intrigue with his Queen. *Helen*, who was a Woman of an amazing Beauty, but not altogether ſo famous for her Virtue, diſcouraged *Paris* ſo little, that while her Husband was engag'd in Affairs that made his Abſence neceſſary, he took the Liberty to improve the Opportunity, and putting her on Board the Fleet that waited on him in his

^c Xenoph. Cyneget. c. 1. §. 2.

Voyages, failed with her to *Troy*. This unheard-of Attempt alarm'd all *Greece* against the Ravisher; and the Embassadors that were sent to demand her being slighted, through the Prevalency of the young Prince's Faction at Court, the *Greeks* united all their Forces to do themselves Justice; and that the War might be carried on with greater Vigour, they gave the Command of the whole Army to *Agamemnon*, King of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, who was Brother to the injur'd Prince.

§. 6. A War that began on so just Grounds could hardly fail of being successful. * *Æneas* foresaw, and dreaded the Consequences of it. He had the Courage to declare himself warmly for the restoring of *Helen*, though he knew so unseasonable an Honesty must draw down upon him the Resentments of the Party who carried all Things in their Favour. Yet the Injustice of his Prince did not make him sit still patiently, and see his Countrymen ruin'd by the *Greeks*, for Crimes that were not their own. When the War was inevitable, he engag'd in it heartily, yet so as to profess on Occasions, which were often repeated, that he desired nothing so much as a fair End of it. His Province lying near the Sea, the *Greeks* ravag'd Part of it at their first Entrance into the Country. He oppos'd them as long as he could, without ruining the Cause

* Liv. l. i. c. i.

he would defend; and when the Vastness of their Numbers made a longer^e Defence impossible, he drew off all the Forces he could raise, and brought them to the Capital, which was soon after besieged.

§. 7. The Length of the Siege gave *Æneas* a thousand Opportunities of distinguishing himself. ^f *Hector* was the only *Trojan* to whom he could be compar'd; and if that Prince had any Advantage of him in respect of Valour, *Æneas* was far his Superior in Prudence. We are told the one used to be call'd the Arm, the other the Soul of *Troy*; and that the *Greeks* often declar'd, they met with more Obstacles from the Conduct of *Æneas*, than the Fury of *Hector*.

§. 8. *Homer* is the most antient Author, from whom we can have any Account of *Æneas*. As he does not appear to have been under any Obligations to flatter his Memory, the Character he gives of him in his *Iliad*, may be reasonably look'd upon as grounded in Truth. That Character is extremely to *Æneas's* Advantage. He places him far above all the *Trojans* but *Hector*, with whom he very often joins him as his Equal in Courage and Conduct. ^h He heightens his Virtue, by making him at the same time the most intirely beloved by the People, and the constant ⁱ Object of the Hatred of an unjust Court, where

^e *Homer*. *Il.* 20. v. 90.

^f *Philostr.* *Heroic.* in *Æneâ*.

^g *Il.* 6. v. 79, 80. & alibi.

^h *Il.* 5. v. 467. & 11. v. 57.

ⁱ *Il.* 13. v. 460, 461.

every fresh Instance of Merit only expos'd him to new Slights. ^k He brings him in fighting with several of the most eminent *Grecian* Commanders, makes him a Match for more than one at the same time: And in Engagements with ^l *Achilles* and *Diomedes*, the two greatest Heroes of *Greece*, though he thought himself oblig'd to give the Honour of the Action to his Countrymen, he does it not by any shameful Flight on the Part of *Æneas*, but by engaging Deities in his Succour; paying at the same time a Complement to the Valour of the *Greeks*, and the Piety of the *Trojan*, which was great enough to recommend him to the Protection even of those Gods, that were Enemies to his Country.

§. 9. All the World knows the Event of the Siege of *Troy*. The City, after it had held out ten Years, was taken by a Treachery, which is variously reported. The King, the Royal Family, and most of the Citizens and Allies of *Troy* were either murder'd, or made Slaves. *Æneas* lost his Wife *Creuza* in the Confusion. As she was not found among the Slain, nor among the Captives, 'twas reported, and afterwards believ'd, that the Goddesses ^m *Venus* and *Cybele* had rescued her from the common Destruction, and detain'd her in their Services. *Æneas* himself escap'd, it not being agreeable to the Justice of the Gods,

^k Il. l. 5. & 13, &c.
l. 10. c. 28.

^l Il. l. 5. & 20.

^m Pausan.

that one who had no Share in the Guilt of *Troy*, should have any in her Ruin.

§. 10. ⁿ He had Intelligence of the *Greeks* being posselt of the Lower City early enough to draw off most of the Forces under his Command to the Castle *Pergamus*. That was a Place of the greatest Strength, and for that Reason several Citizens had removed considerable Riches thither, where they might secure them against the ordinary Hazards of a Siege. But the most valuable Part of the Treasure there were reckon'd the *Dii Penates*, the Household Gods and Guardians of *Troy*; and, as several ^o Authors assure us, the *Palladium*, a famous Image of *Pallas*, which would secure the *Trojans* while they were posselt of it from utter Destruction.

§. 11. ^p *Æneas* found no great Difficulty in repelling the first hasty Attacks of the *Greeks*, who came against those in the Castle as already vanquish'd. He receiv'd at the same time some *Trojans* that escap'd from the Lower City, letting them in by Back-Doors and private Passages, unknown to the Enemy. But he was sensible he could not make any long Resistance after he should be regularly attack'd. He sent away therefore presently the old Men, Women and Children, under a Guard of Soldiers, to

ⁿ Dion. Halicar. l. 1. p. 28, 29. ^o Pausan. l. 2. c. 23.
Æneas is represented in several Medals carrying the Palladium out of Troy. ^p Dion. Hal.

Mount *Ida*, some Parts of which were naturally inaccessible. With the rest of his Forces he defended this Castle with a Vigour that secured the Retreat of those he had sent out, by busying all the Besiegers. At last *Neoptolemus* having forc'd Part of the Wall, he march'd out at a back Gate, carrying with him his Father, the Gods, and the *Palladium*, his Children, and as much of the Riches that had been plac'd in the Castle, as could be remov'd.

§. 12. The *Greeks* were so busily employ'd in plundering the Castle and the Town, that *Æneas* found no Difficulty in joining the Forces he had sent before to Mount *Ida*, and had Leisure to secure all the most inaccessible Parts of it. In a little time he had an Accession of Forces from *Dardania*, and other Cities and Provinces of *Troy*, who had learn'd the Destruction of their Metropolis, by the Flames which they saw from those Parts at a great Distance. *Æneas*, by this Means, saw himself at the Head of almost all the *Trojans* that had escap'd the general Ruin of their Nation, and intended to remain with them on *Ida*, till the Enemy should set fail; after which they would, if possible, repair the City, at least continue in the Country about it.

§. 13. But the *Greeks*, when they had plunder'd *Troy*, and the other Cities and Garrisons in the Kingdom, and divided their Booty and Captives, instead of sailing away as *Æneas* had expected,

pected, prepar'd themselves to attack the Mountain. He was unwilling to engage his harass'd Forces in any new Action, and thought it much more proper to send Messengers to treat with the *Greeks*. They were receiv'd by the Enemy very favourably, and a Treaty was agreed on upon these Terms: That *Æneas* should deliver the strong Places he was in Possession of, into the Hands of the *Greeks*, and should be oblig'd in such a Time, as was fix'd in the Agreement, to remove out of the Country with all those under his Command and Protection: That the *Greeks*, on their Side, should give the *Trojans* a free Passage either by Land or Sea, without injuring them in Person or Goods.

§. 14. *Æneas* had by his Wife *Creusa* a numerous Offspring. The Eldest of his Sons *Ascanius* he sent up farther into *Phrygia*, with some few *Phrygian* Troops. This Prince settled in a Part of that Country call'd *Dasylitis*. Several Years after the Departure of the *Greeks*, he ventur'd to return to *Troy*; a few *Trojans*, who by being scatter'd about the Country, had escap'd the *Greeks*, came in to him. He reign'd over his little Kingdom, and left it increas'd to his Posterity. *Æneas* took the rest of his Children, his Father, and the Images of the Gods with him; and as soon as he could get a Fleet ready, and the Season would permit, set sail in Search of a new Country, where he might be more happy than he had been in his own,

§. 15. This

§. 15. This is the most particular and exact, and seems to be the truest Account of *Æneas's* saving himself after the Ruin of *Troy*. Other ^a Writers attribute his Deliverance only to his Piety. 'Tis a Story very generally receiv'd, that while other *Trojans* were flying from the Conquerors, each loaden with their richest Treasures, *Æneas* was seen bearing his Father and the Images of the Gods; that the *Greeks*, surpris'd at so extraordinary an Instance of Piety, were asham'd to disturb him in his Retreat, and spar'd his Followers out of regard to his Merit.

§. 16. There are Authors who give a very different Account of the Distinction between his Fate and that of the other ^r *Trojans*: They attribute it to his having join'd with the *Antenoridæ*, to betray the City into the Hands of the *Greeks*, and make his Safety to have been the Reward of his Treason. The Credit of such as relate this Story, is not so great as to oblige us to believe it on their Word; and most Authors, since them, have not thought fit to follow them in blackning the Character of a Prince, who in all the rest of the known Actions of his Life, did nothing that might make such a Crime as this probable. All the Foundation that seems to be

^a Aurel. Vict. Or. Urbis Rom. c. 9. Sophocles ap. Dion. l. 1. c. 30. Ælian. l. 3. c. 22. Diod. Sic. Exc. Val. l. 6. p. 223. Xenoph. Cyneg. c. 1. §. 15. ^r Lucat. ap. Aur. Vict. c. 9. Menecrates ap. Dion. Halic. l. 1. c. 40.

for this Story is, that known Hatred *Paris* and his Faction had for him, from which he suffer'd such Injuries, as might have engag'd a meaner Soul in any sort of Revenge. But 'tis more reasonable to suppose, he would be mov'd by their Injustice to do such Actions as might increase their Hate without deserving it; and not give way to such Resentments, as must irreparably ruin his own Fame, and justify his Enemies most unreasonable Accusations. This too is not unlikely, that *Æneas's* known Inclination to a Peace with the *Greeks*, and the Surrender of *Helen*, might engage a grateful Enemy to admit him more easily to Terms, they granted only to him and *Antenor*, whose Family is charg'd with having betray'd the City on better Authority than *Æneas* is.

§. 17. But there is a much greater Variety in the Accounts we have of *Æneas's* Voyages, than in those of his Escape. *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Arcadia*, *Phrygia* it self, contend with *Italy* for the Honour of having fix'd *Æneas*. Each of these Countries, and several others, have not only Proofs of his living, but Sepulchres to demonstrate his having dy'd there; and some of them have a Writer or two to countenance their Pretensions. These different Traditions may easily be accounted for. *Æneas* left a Son in *Phrygia*, married Daughters in *Arcadia*, built a Town, call'd after his own Name, in *Thrace*,
and

and made a pretty long Stay in other Countries. Most of these Countries preserv'd Monuments of his having been there; and several of them, after his Death, erected Sepulchres to his Memory, a Token of Respect very usual in those Times. Their Posterity was very willing to improve these Things into a Story of *Æneas's* settling among them. Their Writers, if they had any, would not fail to do Honour to their Country; and perhaps a few other Authors of inferior Note, out of a foolish Desire of making Discoveries, or contradicting receiv'd Opinions, were proud of inserting their Fables in the Histories they were writing. But these uncertain and contradictory Traditions, ought not to be reckon'd of an equal Weight with that most antient and constant one of the *Romans* and *Italians*, confirm'd by all the Authors of *Rome*, and by the best of *Greece* too.

§. 18. Those Writers indeed, who assert that *Æneas* remain'd in *Phrygia*, have a Passage in *Homer*, which they think pleads unanswerably in their Favour. 'Tis in the twentieth Book of his *Ilias*, where *Neptune*, after having rescu'd *Æneas*, who was engag'd in an unequal Combat with *Achilles*, utters the following Prophecy;

Ἦδ' ἂν γὰρ Πριάμου γενέτω ἥχθηρ' Ἰκονίων,
 Νῦν δ' ἐδὴ Αἰνείας βῆ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
 Καὶ παῖδες παῖδων τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

^f Ver. 303.—5.

Even

*Even now devoted to a certain Fate,
The Race of Priam is the Thund'rer's Hate;
The good Æneas, Fav'rite of the Skies,
Shall on their Ruins to an Empire rise:
Shall bless the Trojans with a gentle Sway,
And Ages yet unborn his glorious Sons obey.*

I own it appears something surprising to me, that this Prophecy should be thought so decisive a Proof. As if (which is the Observation of ^s *Dionysius the Halicarnassæan*) Æneas could not as well rule the Trojans in Italy, as the Romans assert he did, as in Phrygia: At least his having left his Son in Phrygia, who rais'd a little Kingdom out of the Ruins of Troy, and left it to his Children, must be allow'd a fair Interpretation of the Prophecy, if it must needs relate to the Country, and not to the Inhabitants of Troy; though the Words mention only the latter.

§. 19. 'Tis generally related as well by other Authors, as those who bring ^t Æneas to Italy, that this Prince, after having past the Hellespont, landed in Thrace, at a Port called Pallene. The Natives of that Country had been antient Allies of the Trojans, and had in the Siege sent some Forces to their Assistance. They receiv'd Æneas with a great deal of Friendship, and he spent all the Winter in those Parts. He built there a Temple to Venus, and a City, which he call'd

^s Lib. 1. p. 34. See Strabo. l. 13. p. 418.
p. 31. Aur. Vict. c. 9. Conon. Narrat. 46.

^t Dion. l. 1.

from his own Name *Ænea*. He sail'd from *Pal-lene* in the Spring, having left such *Trojans* as were unable to endure the Fatigues of a longer Voyage, or on other Accounts were unwilling to remove any further, in the new City. Their Posterity remain'd there till the Reign of *Cassander*, who, upon the Building of "*Theſſalonica*", remov'd them thither.

§. 20. There would be little entertaining in a Detail of *Æneas's* Voyages. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay in general, that he ſpent the Summer in coaſting along *Greece*, and Part of *Italy*, landing and leaving Memorials of his Arrival in ſeveral Places, building Temples in one Country, ſetting ſome of his Followers a-ſhore in another, and burying others of them in a third. By the End of the Year he arriv'd in *Sicily*, and landed in the Western Part of it near *Drepanum*.

§. 21. *Æneas* found ſome *Trojans* already ſettled there. *Laomedon*, Father to *Priamus*, a Prince infamous in Hiſtory for Acts of Injuſtice and Cruelty, being offended with a *Trojan* Nobleman, put him to Death: This Nobleman had ſeveral Children. His Sons were murder'd with the Father, leſt they ſhould attempt the revenging him. The Tyrant was not ſo completely barbarous as to murder his Daughters, but contented himſelf with putting them into the Hands of ſome foreign Merchants, whom he

^u Dion. Hal. p. 32. 33. Thucid. l. 6. Aur. Viſt. c. 9, 10.

charg'd to carry them, where he might have no Fear or Uneasiness from them. A young *Sicilian* Nobleman, that happen'd to sail in the Ship that had the Virgins on board, lik'd one of them, took her with him into his own Country, married her there, and was the Father of *Ægestus*. When *Priamus* was on the Throne, *Ægestus*, who was now grown up, and had lost his Parents, had the Curiosity to desire a Sight of his Mother's Country. He found no Difficulty in obtaining Permission from the King to settle in *Troy*. He was there all the Time of the Siege; and when the City was taken, escap'd with *Elymus* and a few Companions, in three *Grecian* Vessels, which had been stranded in the Beginning of the Expedition, and happily arrived in his native *Sicily*.

§. 22. *Æneas* finding these *Trojans* was more easily perswaded to winter there. He assisted them in building two Towns, call'd from the Names of their Leaders, *Elyma* and *Ægesta*. He built a Temple to *Venus* in each of them. He set sail in the Spring, having left a considerable Number of his Followers in the new Settlements. The Fatigues, inseparable from such an unsettled Life, might reasonably enough tire the Patience of several; but besides this, 'tis generally related, that the *Trojan* Women, resolv'd to travel no farther, burnt some of his Ships; and those he had left were not able to hold all the *Trojans* he had with him.

§. 23. *Æ-*

§. 23. *Æneas* sail'd again towards the Coasts of *Italy*, through the *Tyrrhene* Sea. ^w He touch'd at several Places; and at last, about the Middle of the Summer, two entire Years after the taking of *Troy*, arrived at *Laurentum*. Having resolv'd to end his Voyages here, ^x he landed all his Forces, which are said not to have been above six hundred Men; a Calculation which, considering the Numbers he scatter'd at so many Places in his Journey, may not be very extravagant. ^y He encamp'd at a Place, which was afterwards call'd *Troy*, about four *Stadia* from the Sea.

§. 24. We have several Reasons given us for ^z *Æneas's* settling in these Parts. The Account that seems to have been most generally receiv'd is, that the *Trojans* had an Oracle, ordering them to settle where they should eat their Tables; that as they were eating hastily upon the Shore, they used their Loaves instead of Tables, and in a little time devour'd them too. Either *Anchises*, or some other *Trojan* crying out upon a sudden, *We eat our Tables too*; all of them recollected the Oracle. *Æneas* being convinc'd that it was fulfill'd, order'd solemn Sacrifices, bringing the Images of the Gods a-shore, and build-

^w Dion. l. 1. p. 39. ^x L. Cassius Hemina ap. Jul. Solin.

^y Liv. l. 1. c. 1. Dion. l. 1. p. 33. ^z Dion. Halic.

l. 1. p. 34, 35. Aur. Vict. c. 11, 12. Strabo. l. 13. p. 418. Dio. Cass. ap. Schol. in Lycophr. v. 1240. Varro rer. Divinar. l. 2. ap. Serv. ad Æn. 3. Serv. ad Æn. 8. v. 43.

ing Altars with an hasty Devotion. In the midst of the Solemnity, a Sow, that was going to be sacrific'd, though big with Young, broke from the Altar, and escap'd through the Croud. *Æneas* presently thought upon another Order he had receiv'd from the Gods, to make a Beast his Guide, and build a City, where it should rest. Upon this, forbidding the Sow to be brought back, he follow'd her Steps, with only a few Attendants. She rested about 24 *Stadia* from the Sea, in a Place that did not seem very proper for a City to be built in. *Æneas* is said to have been extremely concern'd at it, unwilling to disobey the Gods, and not very easy at the Thoughts of fixing in a Place that promis'd nothing agreeable. 'Tis said the *Penates*, whom he had brought with him from *Troy*, appear'd to him in a Dream, and comforted him with the Assurances that he should lay the Foundation of a vast Empire; and that a new City should be built by the *Trojans* in those Parts, much more considerable than that he was at present to build, after a Course of Years equal in Number to the Sow's Litter. They were thirty, whom with the Sow her self *Æneas* sacrific'd immediately; and after thirty Years *Alba* was built, the immediate Parent of *Rome*, and it self a very great City for those Times.

§. 25. This Story is related with some little Variations by the most considerable Authors,

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who

who have written of *Æneas's* Arrival in *Italy*, and is said to be confirm'd in part by antient Monuments. But there are ^a Authors, who not seeming perswaded of the Truth of Relations which have so fabulous an Air, are willing to seek out other Reasons of *Æneas's* settling. And if that be true which we have some Authority for, that the *Trojan* Women burnt all his Ships as soon as he was landed; we need not be at the Pains of interesting the Gods in an Action which had been necessary, though no Oracles had foretold it.

§. 26. This is certain, ^b *Æneas* resolv'd to fix here, and having settled his Gods in a little Chapel which he erected for them, he presently set himself about building a City. But after such a tedious Voyage his Companions had little remaining besides their Arms. They were oblig'd therefore to seize such Instruments or Materials, for building and fortifying, as they could find among the Inhabitants of the Country; and they took the Liberty at the same time to supply themselves with other Necessaries or Conveniences of Life.

§. 27. That Part of *Italy* where *Æneas* landed was possess'd by a People call'd the *Aborigines*. Of the great Variety of Opinions concerning their ^c Original, that appears the most probable,

^a Plutarch in the *Life of Romulus*. Polyæ. l. 8. c. 25. §. 2.

^b Dion. Halic. p. 35, 36. Liv. l. 1. c. 1.

^c Dion. Hal. l. 1. p. 8. 12.

that makes them to have been a Colony of the *Pelasgi*. These *Aborigines* had from small Beginnings risen to a Power formidable to their Neighbours. *Latinus*, who was their King at this time, was making War with the *Rutuli*, a People whose Capital was *Ardea*, a City about 160 *Stadia* from the Place where *Rome* was afterwards built. While he was marching against them, he receiv'd Intelligence, that a new and unknown Invader had landed some Forces in his Territories, and was ravaging all the Maritime Parts of them. Upon this the King alter'd his Designs, and turn'd all his Forces against what he thought the most pressing Danger.

§. 28. ^d 'Tis not absolutely certain whether the *Aborigines* and *Trojans* did engage or no; several Authors tell us they did, and that 'twas not till after *Latinus* had been conquer'd in a set Battle, that he consented to a Peace and Alliance with *Æneas*. ^e But the more receiv'd Opinion is, that there was no Action. The King of the *Aborigines* was surpris'd to find his Enemies in such good Order and Discipline, compleatly arm'd, while his Subjects were rude and undisciplin'd, and had such miserable Arms as could neither secure themselves, nor offend the Enemy to any purpose. When the Armies therefore were ready to engage, he desir'd a Conference with the Stranger.

^d Liv. l. 1. c. 1. Dio. ap. Schol. in Lyc.

^e Liv. Ibid. Dion. l. 1. p. 36, 37. Aur. Vict. c. 13.

§ 29. His Request was readily comply'd with, and he began with desiring to know who *Æneas* was, and by what Right an unknown People could invade the Territories of a Prince, and seize on the Possessions of a Nation that had never injur'd them: A Proceeding so opposite to the plainest Rules of Justice and Humanity, had not yet made him unwilling to enter into a fair Agreement with these Strangers; and if any thing reasonable could satisfy them, to grant freely what they had rather chose to seize by Violence.

§. 30. *Æneas's* Answer was very modest. He gave the King a particular Account of himself and Followers. 'The antient Glory, and the
' fresh Misfortunes of *Troy*, were too well known
' to require a long Detail. Expell'd from their
' Country, and forc'd to seek out new Settlements,
' after long Wandering, they had by the Order of
' the Gods begun to settle in these Parts. They
' had no hostile Intentions; 'twas only an-extreme
' Necessity had forc'd them to commit any Acts
' of Violence upon *Latinus's* Subjects. We are
' ready, he pursued, to make you any Recompence
' we can for the Faults we committed, with a
' great deal of Regret. If you will admit us to
' your Friendship, we offer you all our Services.
' We will be most faithful Allies, and know no
' Enemies but yours. Nor scorn our Assistance.
' Harden'd by Misfortunes, we have learnt to
' think Fatigues natural to us. In Actions of Dif-
' ficulty

‘ ficulty and Hazard, you will find our Troops of
 ‘ Consequence enough, not to repent your having
 ‘ granted us a little Ground to live and build up-
 ‘ on. This is all we ask for. We beg it with a
 ‘ Submission, in which Fear has no Part. We
 ‘ have been long accustom’d to Wars, far more
 ‘ dreadful than this that now threatens us: Nor do
 ‘ we doubt, that if our moderate Requests are de-
 ‘ ny’d, the Gods and *Genii* of this Country will
 ‘ not impute to us the Evils of a War, which
 ‘ they know us so unwilling to enter upon.’

§. 31. The King listen’d to *Æneas* with a great
 Satisfaction, and made an obliging Reply. ‘ He
 ‘ pitied the Brave and the Unhappy, and was
 ‘ overjoy’d to think it was in his Power to do
 ‘ any Thing that might contribute to the End
 ‘ of their Miseries. If they were sincere in de-
 ‘ siring nothing beyond a Settlement, their De-
 ‘ sires could not be reasonably oppos’d; and if
 ‘ he had been sooner acquainted with their In-
 ‘ tentions, instead of attempting any Thing a-
 ‘ gainst them, he should of himself have given
 ‘ them all the Assistance he could. He now of-
 ‘ fer’d them that Assistance very freely, and
 ‘ joyfully embrac’d theirs in a War he was at
 ‘ present engag’d in.’

§. 32. After these Assurances on both Sides, a
 Treaty was immediately enter’d upon, and con-
 cluded on these Conditions: ‘ That the *Aborigines*
 ‘ should freely give the *Trojans* the Land they
 ‘ desir’d

' desir'd for their City and Settlement, which
 ' was only forty *Stadia* every way from the Hill
 ' where they had begun to build. That in Con-
 ' sideration of this Favour, the *Trojans* should
 ' immediately join their Forces with those of
 ' the *Aborigines*, and march with them against
 ' the Enemy they were now at War with. That
 ' there should be a perpetual Confederacy be-
 ' tween the two Nations, and a constant As-
 ' sistance of one another by their Actions and
 ' Counsels.'

§. 33. ^f This Treaty being sworn to on both
 Sides, the *Trojans* leaving their City unfinish'd,
 immediately join'd the *Aborigines* against the
Rutuli. *Latinus* found the Advantage of his
 new Alliance. He had been worsted before in
 several Engagements. Now Success constantly
 attended him. The Enemy was defeated, and
 their Towns taken, with an Expedition that was
 very surprising. The War was finish'd almost
 as soon as begun. The *Trojans* return'd to their
 Building, and the ^g *Aborigines* heartily assisted
 them in it.

§. 34. The War with the *Rutuli* had given
 the King Opportunities of being perfectly ac-
 quainted with *Æneas*. That Knowledge con-
 vinc'd him how much it was his Interest every

^f Dion. Hal. p. 36, 37. Strab. l. 5. p. 158.

^g Aur. Vict. c. 10, 12, 13. Dion. Hal. l. 1. p. 37. Cato
 ap. Serv. Æn. 1.

way to secure him for a Friend. *Latinus* had an only Daughter, *Lavinia*, and was under some Engagements to marry her to *Turnus*, a Prince, who was Nephew or Kinsman to his Queen *Amata*; but he thought the Merit of the *Trojan* Prince might dispense him from an over-religious Observance of his Promises. Notwithstanding all the Opposition the Queen made in Favour of the Prince her Relation, he married his Daughter to *Æneas*. This Alliance was so honourable and advantageous to *Æneas*, that he could not make the Princess a less Compliment, than the calling the City he had just finish'd, from her, *Lavinium*.

§. 35. ^h The building of this City, and the adorning it with Temples, and other publick Edifices, took up the two first Years of *Æneas*'s Reign over the *Trojans* in *Italy*. He lived one Year after this in perfect Repose, enjoying the Reputation he had gain'd, and giving his Subjects that Rest their Fatigues so much requir'd. In the fourth Year of his Reign, *Æneas* and his Father-in-Law were engag'd in a War with the *Rutuli*.

§. 36. ⁱ *Turnus*, *Æneas*'s Rival, had resent'd the Indignity done him, in preferring an absolute Stranger to a near Ally, in Prejudice too to solemn Engagements. The Queen enter'd into

^h Dion. l. 1. c. 39.

ⁱ Dion. Hal. l. 1. c. 39. Liv. l. 1. c. 2. Aur. Vic. c. 13. Strab. l. 5. p. 158.

his Sentiments, and as she was known to be fond of *Turnus*, his Interest still continued very great at *Latinus's* Court. He remain'd there, but from thence by his Creatures incited the *Rutuli* to rebel. When they were ready for a Revolt, he left the Court, by the Queen's Advice, accompanied with several Persons that were in his Interest, and drawing off with him a large Body of Soldiers which he commanded, put himself at the Head of the *Rutuli*. He immediately invaded the little Territories of *Æneas*. As soon as that Prince had join'd his Forces with those of his Father-in-Law, he march'd to offer the Enemy Battle. *Latinus* was slain in the Beginning of the Action; but *Æneas*, without being discourag'd, push'd on the Battle vigorously, and having himself slain the Enemy's General, gain'd a most intire Victory.

§. 37. ^k The Death of the good old King was a great Allay to the Joy of the Conquest. He was intirely belov'd by his Subjects; and *Æneas*, who succeeded him in the Government of the *Aborigines*, without any Opposition (the Queen, his Enemy, having kill'd her self upon the News of *Turnus's* Death) did a very popular Action, in commanding all his Subjects, *Trojans* and *Italians*, to be call'd by one common Name, *Latines*. This new Appellation intimated *Æneas* would make no Distinction between his Subjects; and

^k Aur. Vic. c. 13. Dion. Hal. l. 1. p. 38, 39. Liv. l. 1. c. 2.
indeed

indeed he made it all his Business to unite the two Nations. The People, seconding their Prince's Inclinations by frequent Intermarriages, their Customs, their Laws, their religious Ceremonies, grew insensibly the same, and the Union was so perfect as never to be dissolv'd. *Æneas* reign'd three Years in Peace. The last of those Years he buried his Father ¹ *Anchises* in a very advanc'd Age.

§. 38. ^m After that Time, not satisfied with the Advantages he had already gain'd over the *Rutuli*, he resolv'd to compleat the Conquest of that rebellious Nation: That Attempt rais'd him up a more dangerous Adversary. The *Rutuli* having rais'd all the Forces they possibly could, as in the last Extremity, and still sensible of their Inability to resist to any purpose, apply'd themselves to *Mezentius* for Assistance. *Mezentius* was King of the *Etrurians*, the most powerful People of all those Parts. He had always look'd upon the rising Empire of *Æneas* with Hate and Envy, and was overjoy'd to have a Pretence to crush, in its first Beginnings, a Power that might quickly come to be formidable to his own. He readily therefore complied with the Request of the *Rutuli*, and put himself at the Head of a numerous Army, which being join'd to theirs, was so much superior to the Forces

¹ Dion. Hal. l. 1. p. 40. ^m Aur. Vic. c. 14. Liv. l. 1. c. 2.
Dion. Hal. l. 1.

Æneas could raise, that he did not doubt of over-powering him. However, before he march'd, he made the *Rutuli* promise, that whatever was gain'd from the *Latines* should be intirely his own. They made no Difficulty of complying with a Proposal they were not in a Condition to oppose.

§. 39. The surest Way *Æneas* had of acting against so unequal a Force, was to shut himself up in *Lavinium*; but he thought there was something dishonourable in any Appearance of Fear. Having provided the City with all Things necessary for a Siege, and given some Forces for the Defence of it, to his Son *Euryleon*, afterwards better known under the Name of *Ascanius*, he drew out the rest of his Troops to meet the Enemy. The Battle was fought with great Ardour on both Sides, and ended at Night, without any appearing Difference. But the Fortune of the Day, in other Respects equal, was intirely favourable to the *Tuscans* in the Loss of *Æneas*.

§. 40. When the *Latines* were retir'd to their Camp, their General and King was missing. All their Search was fruitless, and his Body was never found: The most probable Account of his Death is, that he fell into the River *Numicius*, by the Banks of which the Battle was fought, without being discern'd by any one, through the Darkness of the Night, and the Confusion of a
Re-

Retreat. Some pious Persons thinking such an End too mean for so great an Hero, believ'd it as a certain Truth, that he was taken up to Heaven, which he had by the Valour of that Day now compleatly render'd himself worthy of. There were not wanting some that saw him ascend. His Son *Ascanius* is said to have been of that Number, and might very well think it his Interest to encourage such a Belief. Divine Honours were paid to the Memory of *Æneas*, and a Temple erected to him on the Banks of the River, inscrib'd, *To Jupiter Indiges, who governs the Waters of the River Numicius.* *Æneas* died in the fourth Year of his Reign over the ⁿ *Latines*, which was the eighth from the taking of *Troy*.

§. 41. *Mezentius* in the mean time pursued with Vigour the Advantage the Death of *Æneas* gave him, and besieg'd *Ascanius*, his Successor in *Lavinium*, so closely, that it was impossible for him to receive the Assistance he expected from the other *Latine* Cities. *Ascanius* thus reduc'd, propos'd a Treaty, and mention'd such Conditions as he imagin'd reasonable for both Sides. Flush'd with Success, *Mezentius* rejected the Proposals, and offer'd on his Side such Conditions of Peace as were highly unreasonable. Among other Things he demanded, that all the Wine the Country of the *Latines* produc'd,

ⁿ Aur. Vict. c. 15. Dion. l. 1. Macrobi. Sat. l. 3. c. 5.
should

should be sent to *Etruria*, as an annual Tribute. Exasperated at this Treatment, the Besieged resolved on a Defence, and to engage the Gods in their Quarrel, declar'd the Product of their Vines sacred to *Jupiter*. This was their King's Advice, and he too counsell'd them to wait for a dark Night, and then break out and fall upon the Enemy, who from an Assurance of Conquest, were very little upon their Guard against an Enemy they despis'd.

§. 42. The Besieged spent their Time in exhorting one another to Constancy and Valour, and repeated Acts of Devotion and Invocation of the Gods Assistance in their Enterprize. As soon as such a Night came as they expected, they broke out of the City, and attacking Part of the Enemies Trenches, where *Lausus* the Son of *Mezentius* commanded, and the bravest Youths of *Etruria* under him, they enter'd without much Opposition. The Lights they brought with them glaring in their Enemies Faces, increas'd their Confusion: They fled in the utmost Disorder, and in their Flight disorder'd most of the other Forces that lay before the Town. The *Latines* pursued them with a prodigious Slaughter. The young Prince fell among the rest. As soon as *Mezentius* heard of his Son's Death, he believ'd it a Punishment of his own Insolence, and sent Ambassadors to desire a Peace. It was agreed on fair Terms; and that Prince was for
all

all the rest of his Life a very firm Ally of the *Latines*.

§. 43. ° *Æneas* left his Queen with Child, who in the first Disorders his Death occasion'd throughout the Kingdom, fled into the Woods, and trusted her Retirement to the Secrefy of one *Tyrrhenus*, who had been Herdsman to her Father, and still took Care of the Royal Herd. She continued there after *Ascanius* was settled on the Throne, dreading the Hatred which Step-Mothers generally and justly meet with. The Herdsman conceal'd her with an exemplary Fidelity. She was deliver'd of a Son in her Retreat, whom, from the Place of his Birth, she nam'd *Sylvius*, from his Father *Æneas*, without being discover'd by any, but such as were faithful to the Secret. In the mean time the *Latines* missing the Queen, were so unjust to their Prince, as to suspect him of having privately murder'd her. His most solemn Protestations were a weak Defence against their Doubts, and his Life would have been in great Danger from a Revolt which was openly threaten'd, if *Tyrrhenus* had not brought the Queen from her Retreat. *Ascanius* gave her a very honourable Treatment; but finding her more belov'd by the People than he could easily bear to be a Witness of, he chose to leave the City to her for a certain preventing of future Quarrels, and

° Dion. Hal. l. 1. Aur. Viét. c. 16. Serv. ad Æn. l. 6.

built himself a new and much greater one at *Alba*, where his Successors reign'd.

§. 44. After this Prince's Death, there was a Contest for the Crown between his Son *Iulus* and the young *Sylvius Æneas*. The People, by whom this Controversy was to be determin'd, declar'd in Favour of the Son of *Æneas* by *Lavinia*, who brought the Kingdom in Dowry. Thirteen Princes, descended in a regular Succession from *Sylvius*, follow'd one another in the Kingdom of the *Latines*. *Romulus*, the Founder of *Rome*, was Grandson to the last. He died without Heirs, and this Branch of *Æneas*'s Family was extinct in him. *Iulus* had the Office of High-Priest given him, and settled on his Posterity. His Descendants possess'd it several Ages; and *Julius Cæsar*, who claim'd a Descent from this Prince, join'd to the Priesthood the whole *Roman* Empire, which remain'd in his Family till the Death of *Nero*, who was the last of it.

P Dion. Halic. Aur. Vict. c. 17.

T H E

T H E
L I F E
O F
TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. I. **T**HE ^a *Hostilii* were an antient and illustrious Family in *Medullia*, a City built by the *Albans*, but under *Romulus* made a *Roman* Colony. ^b *Tullus*, or as others call him, *Hostius Hostilius*, remov'd at that time to *Rome* with all his Effects, which were very considerable. He was of a Temper inclin'd to War, and soon recommended himself to a Prince, who valued all of that Character, which was his own. He attended *Romulus* in his Wars, and distinguish'd himself particularly in those which follow'd upon the Rape of the *Sabines*. Some ^c Authors tell us, he was the first in the Siege of *Fidenæ*, who enter'd the Walls of that Town, and was crown'd by *Romulus*, for that Instance of his Valour. ^d But 'tis generally related, that he perish'd in the *Sa-*

^a Dion. Halic. p. 101. Ed. R. Steph.
Plin. l. 16. c. 5.
Plut. in the *Life* of *Romulus*.

^b Liv. l. 1. c. 12.
^d Liv. Dion. l. c.

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bine Wars, in an Engagement within the City. He married ^e *Herfilia*, the Daughter of an eminent *Sabine*, the same Woman, who afterwards employ'd her self with so good Success to fix a Peace between her Country-men and the *Romans*. ^f He was buried in the *Forum*, where he had a fine Monument erected to his Memory.

§. 2. ^g He left an only Son, who was the Father of *Tullus Hostilius*, the third King of *Rome*. Those ^h Authors, who tell us of the Meanness of this Prince's Birth and Education, of his Poverty, and the Difficulties he struggled through to Greatness, are undoubtedly mistaken. ⁱ His Birth was noble; and he was so rich as to be distinguish'd from the other Kings of *Rome* by that Epithet. We are told by others that ^k he had signaliz'd himself in War before he was chosen King; and that the Fame of his Valour was a great Inducement to the People to fix their Choice on him. If this is true, he must have acted in Wars, that other People of *Italy* might be engag'd in. For all Historians agree, that the Reign of his Predecessor was one continu'd calm, and he was hardly born before the Death

^e Dion. Plut. l. c.

^f Dion. p. 102.

^g Dion, l. c.

^h Val. Max. l. 3. c. 4.

ⁱ Hor. l. 4. Od. 7.

Nos ubi decidimus

*Quo pius Æneas, quo Tullus dives, & Ancus
Pulvis & umbra sumus.*

^k Flor. l. 1. c. 3. Aurel. Vict. in Tull. Host.

of *Romulus*. But as the ¹ *Sabine Wars* are mention'd as those, in which he had given Proofs of his Valour, 'tis probable that those Historians have confounded him with his Grandfather, by an Ignorance, pardonable in the Obscurity of the Originals of *Rome*. To his Ancestors Reputation then, and the Interest his Birth and Fortune gave him, his Election to the Kingdom seems to have been chiefly owing.

§. 3. But whether he had given any Proofs of his Valour or no before his Election, 'tis certain he impatiently waited for Opportunities of doing it. ^m He had a perfect Contempt for the Temper and Institutions of his Predecessor; and was more eagerly inclin'd to War than ⁿ *Romulus* himself. As soon as he was chosen King by the *Interreges*, and confirm'd by the People and Auguries, he began his Reign by an Action of the greatest Popularity. When *Romulus* settled his new City, he had taken for himself and his Successors some very large and fruitful Fields, out of the Product of which the Kings were to perform Sacrifices, and live after a Manner suitable to their Character. This *Tullus* thought he had no need of, but that his own paternal Estate was sufficient for all his Expences. He renounc'd all Title to those Lands, and divided them among the poorer *Romans*, who had no Possessions of their own.

¹ Aur. Vict.

^m Liv. l. 1. c. 22.

ⁿ Dion.

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§. 4. Such a Beginning was admirably suited to engage his new Subjects in all the Measures and Wars he was inclin'd to. He had soon an Occasion for his Valour, and their Assistance. • *Cluilius* was at that Time *Dictator* of *Alba*; a Man of an insolent haughty Temper, a Lover of War, and particularly envious of the growing Power of *Rome*. He had often endeavour'd to give his Country-men the same Aversion to that City as he had himself, but he found it impossible. They had no just Reason for a War with the *Romans*, and were not of a Humour to seek Pretences. He engag'd under-hand some of the poorest and boldest *Albans*, to rob and plunder the *Roman* Borders. They continu'd their Practices so long, till the *Romans* Patience could endure no longer. They took up Arms, and attacking the Robbers in their Turn, they pursu'd them into the *Alban* Territories, kill'd several, and put to Flight, and wounded the rest, and return'd home with their own Goods retaken, and perhaps some of the *Albans* too. *Cluilius* immediately summons an Assembly of the People, and shewing several of the Wounded, made a most tragical Relation of the *Romans* Murders and Robberies, in which he mingled a great deal of Falshood with some Truth. The *Albans* were warm'd at what they saw and heard, and consented readily to their General's Proposal

The LIFE of TULLUS HOSTILIUS. 35

of sending Embassadors to *Rome*, and declaring War, if they had not compleat Satisfaction.

§. 5. P. It had been agreed in the Time of *Romulus*, between the People of *Rome* and *Alba*, that if any Complaints should arise, the Party that thought themselves injur'd, should apply to the other for Redress; and if they found none, should have a Right to make War. *Tullus*, who had early Intelligence of the *Albans* Resolutions, was resolv'd not to give them the Pre-
tence of Justice they would have had from complaining first. He sent Embassadors to *Alba* with the utmost Expedition, to complain in the Name of the *Romans*, of the Injuries they had receiv'd; and gave them Orders to insist on an immediate Answer. The *Albans* receiv'd them very coldly, and the *Romans*, not finding them dispos'd to give the Satisfaction they desir'd, declar'd War to begin at thirty Days End. *Tullus*, in the mean time, took Care to have the *Alban* Embassadors treated with all imaginable Civility, entertain'd with Feasts, and Visits of the principal Families of *Rome*, but delay'd giving them Audience, till he was certainly inform'd of the Success of his Embassy to *Alba*: Then calling them in, and hearing their Complaints and Threatnings, Tell those that sent sent you, (says he) that the *Romans* have made their Complaints first, and had their Embassadors sent back unsa-

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tisfied and injur'd. The Treaties are broken by your Lords. The Gods whom they have violated, and whom I call to Witness of the Truth of this, punish all the Calamities of the War on the Authors of it!

§. 6. ^a Both Nations immediately took the Field. The *Albans* were a little the forwardest, and march'd their Army into the *Roman* Territories. When the *Roman* Army met them, they were but forty *Stadia* from *Rome*. The Place where they encamp'd was afterwards call'd *Fossa Cluilia*, from the Name of the *Alban* General. That General had taken a great deal of Pains to persuade his Country-men to attack the *Romans* in their Camp. But he did not find their Warmth answerable to his Expectations. The *Albans* saw themselves very well match'd by the *Romans*, and not finding their Enemies dispos'd to begin the War by an Action, they were not willing to run the Hazard of forcing them to it. At last he engag'd them to offer the *Romans* Battle, and if they refus'd it, to march against some of their Towns. The Day was appointed, and the Night before *Cluilius* went to sleep in his Tent without any Appearance of Disorder. The next Morning the Officers that went to wake him were surpris'd to find him dead.

§. 7. ^r This Accident was variously interpreted. The Pious and Superstitious, especially a-

^a Dion. Liv. l. 1. c. 23.

^r Dion.

mong the *Romans*, were easily induc'd to a Belief, which *Tullus* took Care to encourage, that his Death was a Judgment of the Gods, for his having occasion'd so unjust a War. The *Albans* were a little more inclin'd to think their Enemies Treachery hasten'd their General's End; and some of them included *Tullus* in their Suspicions. Some thought that the Concern he was under for having caus'd a War he was not able to carry on, according to his Inclinations, had wrought him up to Self-murder. But there was no Appearance of any Violence or Poyson on his Body; and those, who without making any over-wise Reflections, contented themselves with saying, his appointed Hour was come, and believ'd his Death purely natural, were of the greatest Number, and perhaps had the most Reason too.

§. 8, ^s *Tullus* would not omit so favourable an Opportunity, but, in the first Disorder, he moves by the *Alban* Camp, and marches his Army into their Territories. The *Albans* chose *Metius Fufetius* Dictator, a Man every way unworthy that Post, neither brave in War, nor honest in Peace; such an one, in short, as seem'd design'd by Fate to occasion his Country's Ruin. He march'd after *Tullus*, but finding the People not yet hearty in the War, the Entrails unpromising, and wanting himself the Courage re-

^s Liv.

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quisite to make up the Disadvantages he labour'd under, he resolv'd to entertain Thoughts of Peace. The Exigence of Affairs in a little time made it necessary for the *Romans* too. The *Roman* and *Alban* Armies lay incamp'd within two or three Hours March from *Fidenæ*. The Inhabitants of that City and *Veii* were conquer'd by *Romulus*, and reduc'd in their Power and Riches, but in the long peaceable Reign of *Numa* recover'd both. They were impatient under their Subjection, and thought the Nearness of the Armies to them gave them a favourable Opportunity of shaking it off. They rais'd Forces with great Secrecy, and brought them by small Bodies into *Fidenæ*. There they intended to wait for a Battle, which was daily expected; when it was ended they would break out, and looking upon both the Conquerors and the Conquer'd as their Enemies, they thought they might, without much Difficulty, rid themselves of both.

§. 9. † The Design was so promising, that it could hardly have fail'd of Success, if it had not been betray'd. *Metius* was alarm'd at the Discovery, and immediately desir'd a Conference with *Tullus* between the Armies. 'Twas readily agreed to. Then the *Alban*, in a studied Oration, endeavour'd to make the *Roman* sensible, how much Weakness and Imprudence there was in their attacking one another, to the Satisfac-

† Dion. p. 106, 108.

tion of their common Enemies, who had already conceiv'd Hopes of improving these Quarrels to the Ruin of both People, and enter'd into Measures that were but too likely to effect it. He then gave him an Account of the Conspiracy of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*; and assured him of the Inclinations of the *Albans* to a Peace, the Conditions of which should be Reparation of Injuries on both Sides, and an intire Amnesty. These (he said) his Country thought the most reasonable and fair Terms for both the Nations, but if *Tullus* had any others to propose, he would gladly hear them.

§. 10. *Tullus* had before this been inform'd of the Designs of the revolting Cities, and was perfectly convinc'd how much the Peace propos'd was for the Interest of *Rome* as well as *Alba*. He only told *Fufetius*, that he thought all such Measures ought to be taken as were most proper to prevent any future Quarrels. While you (says he) envy our growing Power, and while we suspect you continually of entertaining Designs to weaken it, in spite of all our Treaties, we shall look upon one another as Enemies. The strongest Ties of Vows and Oaths will be but a feeble Security. I can think of no likelier Method to remove this Occasion of Enmity, than the *Albans* coming all, or at least the most considerable of them, to settle at *Rome*, to join in all its Privileges, and enter into all its Interests. The *Sa-*

bines and several *Etrurians* have done this, and have not repented it. But if you are unwilling to leave your native City, and household Gods, this at least must be done. There must be appointed a general Assembly, which shall determine the Affairs relating to both our Cities, and the Principality must be given to one of them. While we are so much upon the Level, as we seem at present, we shall never be hearty Friends. When the Sovereignty we contend for is fairly given to either of our Cities, we may be.

§. 11. *Metius* desir'd Time for the considering and communicating of these important Proposals. When he had imparted them to the People, and learn'd all their Opinions, he return'd to the King, and told him the *Albans* could not entertain any Thoughts of abandoning their City, but they very well approv'd of his latter Proposal. The Difficulty was to fix on the City which should be own'd as a Sovereign by the other. The *Albans* thought they had an undoubted Right of Superiority over *Rome*, which was founded only by a Colony of *Albans*; they were of a much greater Antiquity; their Citizens descended all from the first Builders of *Alba*, without a Mixture of Foreigners; whereas those of *Rome* were made up of all sorts of People, and the greatest Part of them could not pretend to the same Antiquity with their City, modern as it was; their Constitution was fixed and settled upon

upon firm Foundations, that of *Rome* unsettled, wavering, and hardly yet known to themselves. *Tullus* thought the Advantage of Power, which was evidently inclining to the *Roman* Side, was of it self more considerable than all those other chimerical Advantages the *Albans* pleaded, which yet admitted of easy Answers.

§. 12. But 'twas not to be suppos'd an Affair of that Nature would be determin'd by Arguments. The Disputants were soon convinc'd, they should never be able to satisfy their Adversaries that way. It was then agreed to determine the Controversy by Arms. *Tullus* thought it proper to have only one *Roman* and an *Alban* fight: He intended himself to fight for the Principality of his City, and intimated plainly enough, that he expected the same Sentiments from *Mecius*. But the Dictator was of a quite different Opinion, and knowing himself no Match for the *Roman*, found Arguments specious enough to conceal his Cowardice under the Unreasonableness of such a Proposal. He proposed in his Turn the choosing of three Soldiers on each Side, by the Success of whose Engagement the Contest should be decided. 'Twas consented to; and there was great Contention in both Camps for the Honour, but Fate had provided the Combatants.

§. 13. *Sequinius*, a Citizen of *Alba*, had two Daughters, whom he married at the same time, the

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the one to *Horatius* a *Roman*, the other to *Curiatius* an *Alban*. Each of the Daughters is said to have born her Husband three Children at a Birth. They were all grown up, equal in Years and Merit. They were engag'd in the Cause of their Countries, and of a Reputation for Valour inferior to none in either of the Armies. As soon as their Characters were known, any further Search was thought unnecessary. The only Doubt remaining was, whether the Nearness of their Blood would not make them unwilling to engage in the Combat. The two Kings propos'd it to their Country-men. Those of *Alba* consented immediately; and the *Romans* discover'd the greatest Satisfaction in the Honour that was done them in the Choice; but as their Father was living at *Rome*, they told the King they did not dare to engage themselves without his Permission. *Tullus* approv'd of their Piety. The old Man was consulted; his Sentiments were agreeable to his Sons, and he even prest them on to the Action.

§. 14. " There was a large Field chosen between the two Armies, where both might see the Fight, and the Space of about three or four *Stadia* left for the Combatants. On the appointed Day, the Nations swore on Altars erected for that Purpose, that they submitted for themselves and their Posterity to the Fortune of the Fight,

¶ Dion. p. 115. Liv. l. 1. c. 24.

and

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and would, without the least Deceit, inviolably observe such Terms as they should be reduc'd to by it. After this the *Alban* General led in the *Curiatii*, *Tullus* the *Horatii*. As soon as the young Men came near one another, they all threw down their Swords, and ran into one another's Arms, bursting out into Tears, and calling each other by the most endearing Titles. The whole Armies were fix'd in Silence and Attention, several wept too, and were ready to break out into Murmurs against the inhuman Choice of their Princes; when the Combatants leaving off their Caresses, took up their Swords again, and begun the Engagement.

§. 15. The Fight for a long time was equal. At last the Eldest of the *Romans* was slain by the opposite *Alban*; but his Brother soon reveng'd his Death by that of his *Murderer*. The next two fell together, but the *Roman* mortally wounded, the *Alban* only in his Thigh. He rose, and made all the Haste he could to assist his Brother against the remaining *Roman*, who being sensible he could make but little Resistance against two, betook himself to Flight. The *Alban* he was fighting with pursued him very swiftly, the other that was wounded moving but slowly after. The *Roman* took his Opportunity, and turning on a sudden, cut off his Pursuer's Arm, and at the next Stroke kill'd him. He had nothing to do after this, but to
finish

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finish the Victory by the Death of the remaining *Alban*, who being half dead already, could do little more than offer his Throat to be cut by his Adversary. This seems the most probable Account of this Combat; the more general one is, that two *Romans* were slain, the three *Albans* surviving, but all wounded; that the remaining * *Roman* kill'd all the three Enemies, having separated them from one another by his Flight.

§. 16. The *Romans* receiv'd their Conqueror with an extravagant Applause, their Despair of Success having heighten'd the Pleasure of the Conquest. * The young Man stripp'd the Dead, and returning to *Rome* to be the Messenger of his own Victory, to his Father; he was met at the Gates of the City by a Sister, who was betroth'd to one of the *Curiatii* he had kill'd. The Sight of the Spoils of her Lover, and particularly of a Garment she had made for him with her own Hands, provoked her into a Fury, which broke out in the most bitter Reproaches. The Brother, too much heated with Victory, and the Congratulations of his King and Country, could not bear such unexpected Usage, and kindling in his Turn into Madness; Base and Ungrateful, he cry'd, Go join thy Lover, whom thou preferrest to thy Friends and Country.

* See Livy. Flor. l. 1. c. 3. Plut. Paral. p. 309. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 3. c. 14.

‡ Liv. l. 1. c. 25. Dion.

p. 116, 117.

May every *Roman* Woman that dares lament an Enemy, perish like thee! He stabb'd her as he spoke, and leaving her weltring in her Blood, with a savage Unconcernedness, went on to his Father's House. The Father, worthy such a Son, receiv'd him with Extasy; when he heard of his Daughter's Fate, he order'd her Body not to be brought into his House, nor buried in the Monuments of his Ancestors. Those that pass'd by threw Dirt and Stones over her Body, and buried her in the Place where she fell. The old Man invited to his House all his Friends and Relations, and the most illustrious Men of the City. He spent all the Day in Sacrifices and Feasting, and every Sign of an extravagant Joy. To speak sincerely of the *Roman* Greatness, this Temper has nothing amiable in it. A Love to one's Country, that has such Effects as this, ceases to be any longer commendable; and from the most glorious and distinguishing of Virtues, degenerates into perfect Barbarity. We have in the early Years of *Rome* several Instances of a like Nature, but I don't know any altogether so shocking as this.

§. 17. y The Night after the Combat was spent by the two Armies in a very different Manner; by the *Romans* in sacrificing and feasting; but by the Troops of *Alba* in a silent Sorrow. Both Sides buried their Champions in the Places

y Dion. l. 3. p. 118.

where they fell. Their Tombs remain'd for several Ages after, and the *Roman* ^z Historian assures us he saw them. The next Morning *Tullus* summon'd an Assembly of the *Albans*, he made a very obliging Speech, and assured them, he would never use the Power Fortune had given his City, but in such Things as should be for the Advantage of both; he would not make the least Change in their Constitution, and left *Mezcius* in his Office. These Things having appeas'd their Concern, he drew off his Army to *Rome*, and enter'd the City in Triumph.

§. 18. The usual Pleasure of that Solemnity was very much lessen'd by the King's meeting *Horatius*, led to Judgment before him, for his Sister's Murther. *Tullus* was very unwilling to judge in a Case where 'twas dangerous to do Justice. The Laws that made *Horatius's* Crime capital, were exprefs, but his Merit seem'd to be above the Laws; and the putting to Death a Man cover'd with fresh Wounds, gain'd in a Conquest so glorious and beneficial to his Country, was almost as criminal as the Act he was accus'd of. The King referr'd the Prisoner to the *Duumviri*, Judges appointed to try such Causes, who, as the Laws oblig'd them, presently condemn'd him. The Criminal, by the King's own Counsel, appeal'd to the People. His Father pleaded his Cause with the utmost

^z Liv. l. 1. c. 25.

Vehemence. The Crime was the greatest against him; the Loss, if it was any, was his, and his only; he was the proper Judge in this Case, the Father of both, and had his Son been guilty, had used his Authority in executing his own Justice, and preventing theirs; but this Action was a Deed of Justice, not a Murder, against a bad Daughter and Sister, and a Traitor to her Country; he should himself have punish'd her with Death, if his Son had not; his Son, who acted as his Delegate, and could never be accountable for what he had done in that Character to an offending Child. But the Merit of the Son pleaded infinitely more in his Favour, than any Thing the Father could say. He stood as unconcern'd, when his Life was in Debate, nay, when he was sentenc'd to lose it, as if an indifferent Trifle was talking of. The People beheld the Conqueror with Astonishment and Admiration, and thinking on what they had already gain'd, and what they might yet expect from so unshaken a Courage, they were asham'd of having doubted so long; they confirm'd the Father's Judgment, and declar'd the great Offender innocent.

§. 19. ^a Yet it was thought improper, that the Killing of a Sister should not have, at least, some Appearance of Punishment. The *Pontifex*, by the King's Order, appointed some piacu-

^a Dion. l. 3. p. 119.

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lar Rites to atone for the Guilt; they order'd too the erecting of two Altars, the one to *Juno Sororia*, the other to *Janus*, with the Sirname of *Curvatus*. They made *Horatius* perform some Ceremonies on them; and to compleat the Pageantry, ^b he pass'd under the Yoke with his Head cover'd. That Yoke was order'd to be preserv'd, and repair'd whenever it was necessary, at the publick Charge. It was call'd ^c *Tigillum Sororium*. The Charges of the Expiation were to be paid by the Father, but first given him out of the publick Money. A Law was made on this Occasion, by which the Father that had three Sons at a Birth, had them bred up at the Expence of the City.

§. 20. *Tullus* spent a whole Year in preparing for the Punishment of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*. He had commanded them to appear at *Rome*, to justify themselves from the Crime they were suspected of. But they knew themselves guilty, and instead of appearing, took up Arms, rais'd all the Forces they could, and openly revolted. The *Roman* Embassadors that were sent to them, could have no other Answer, but that all the Dependence they had in *Rome*, was only during the Life of *Romulus*, to whom they made a Submission, which they were freed from by his Death. The King had Assistance from his Allies; but the most considerable was, that the

^b Liv. l. i. c. 26.

^c Liv.

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Albans brought him, whose Injury was the same as the *Romans*, and who were now too obliged to attend the Measures of Rome as their superior City. He had still continued *Metius* in his Government, which was only annual. But that Man was insensible of his Favours, and no longer valued his Authority, when he consider'd it as held merely at another's Pleasure. When the *Fidenates* were deliberating, and in a doubt whether they should openly revolt, or shew their Submissions, and beg Pardon for their Offences, he had encourag'd them by Assurances, that as soon as there should be a Fight, he would turn all his Forces against the *Romans*.

§. 21. *Tullus* march'd his Army over the River ^d *Anien*, near that of the Enemy, which was encamp'd close to *Fidenæ*. He lay still the first Day; but upon calling a Council of War, it was judg'd proper not to delay offering Battle. When the Day was appointed, *Metius* took aside the most considerable Officers of the *Albans*, and acquainted them with his Intention of drawing off all his Troops at the Beginning of the Action, to a Mountain near which their Part of the Army was to be plac'd in the Battle; there they should wait for the Success of it, if the Loss fell on the *Romans*, as it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, they should join the *Fidenates* to compleat their Destruction;

^a Liv. l. 1. c. 27. Dion. l. 3. p. 120.

but if by a Miracle the *Romans* should win the Day, he would join them in finishing the Defeat, and pretend he drew off the Body he commanded, only with a View to surround the Enemy, and wait some such other Opportunity of regaining their Freedom. Though this Project was so compleatly villanous, the Desire of freeing themselves from their new Yoke, made the *Alban* Officers approve of it; they took Oaths of Secrecy, and promised to aid the Design.

§. 22. The next Day both the Armies march'd against the other with the Sun-rising. The left Wing of the *Roman* Army was commanded by *Tullus*, who had the *Veientes* against him. The right was given to the *Albans*, and *Metius*, who were oppos'd to the *Fidenates*. Before they came within Reach of the Enemies Darts, all the *Albans* drew off to the Mountain. The King was presently inform'd of the Treachery, and the *Fidenates* moved to surround the *Romans*, and attack them on every Side. They saw this, and stood unmoveable, without having Courage enough left to defend themselves. ^e *Tullus* himself was shock'd. Some say he vowed Temples to Paleness and Fear. But immediately recovering himself with a surprizing Presence of Mind, ^f he calls, in the loudest Voice, to the Messenger that brought him the News of

^e Liv. ^f Polyæ. l. 8. c. 5. Frontin. l. 2. c. 7. Val Max. l. 7. c. 4. Ex. 2.

the *Albans* Desertion; and upbraiding his need-
less Fears, the *Albans* (says he) execute my
Commands with an admirable Diligence; they
have already almost surrounded the *Fidenates*, as
I charged them, and will immediately attack
their Rear. Be it our Care that the Glory of
the Day be not all theirs. As he spoke, he
march'd against the Enemy, who had heard Part
of his Speech, and were alarm'd at it, and or-
dering his 2 Horse to raise their Spears, he hid
the Sight of the *Albans* March from great Part
of his Foot. The Courage of the *Romans* com-
pleted the Terror of the *Fidenates*, and Fear,
lest the *Albans* should indeed get behind them,
occasion'd a very hasty Retreat. The King
broke them, and leaving a few Horse to increase
their Confusion, moved against the *Veientes*,
whom he found already dispos'd to follow the
Example of their Confederates. He push'd them
into the River, and took their Camp. Then
the *Albans* came down from the Hills, and made
a great Slaughter of all the Fugitives.

§. 23. ^h *Tullus* was throughly convinc'd of
Metius's Villany, and resolv'd on an exemplary
Revenge. He receiv'd his Congratulations with
a well counterfeited Pleasure. He applauded
what he had done, and own'd his Obligations
to him for the Glories of the Day. These
Praises confirm'd the *Alban* in the Belief that

^g Liv.

^h Dion. l. 3. p. 123, 124.

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he was undiscover'd. He sent all his Horse after the Enemy, and pursued them to the Gates of *Fidenæ*, killing all the Straglers that had not yet got within the Walls. They return'd to the Camp by the Evening, and join'd the *Romans*, in spending the Night in the usual Rejoycing after a Victory. *Tullus* remain'd in the Camp of the *Veientes* till the first Watch, and examining the most considerable of the Captives about the Causes of their Revolt, which appear'd so very rash, and the Advisers of it; he was inform'd by them, that the Counsel *Metius* had given them, and his Promises of Assistance, were the great Motives of their engaging in such Measures. He wanted only this Discovery to compleat his Knowledge of the Perfidiousness of the *Alban*; and as soon as he knew it, he took Horse, with a small Number of Attendants, whom he could confide in, and rode directly to *Rome*.

§. 24. Before Midnight *Tullus* got the Senate assembled, he acquainted them with the *Alban* Crime, and not desiring to be believ'd on his Word, he brought the Captives to Witness the Truth of what he had told them. He acquainted them with the Success of the Battle, and desir'd they would advise him to some Punishment fit for the Perfidiousness of *Alba*, and proper Methods of preventing any future Attempts of such a Nature, from a City, whose Faith was

so little to be relied on. There was no doubt but the Criminals deserv'd the severest Punishment; the only Difficulty was, how to punish them with Security. 'Twas next to an Impossibility to put to Death the General, and the principal Officers of the *Albans*, by private Justice; a publick Attempt on their Lives would be oppos'd by the *Albans*, and issue in a War, in which most of the People of *Etruria* would in all Probability join against the *Romans*. *Tullus* seeing the Senators confounded with these Doubts, laid before them a Method, which he look'd upon as easy and safe, and which they unanimously consented to and applauded.

§. 25. There were but forty *Stadia* between *Rome* and *Fidenæ*; and the King and his Followers being well mounted, easily return'd to the Camp before Morning. 'Twas not yet Break of Day, when the King called for *Marcus Horatius*, the old Conqueror of the *Albans*, and giving him a small Body of the best Horse and Foot, sent him to *Alba*, with Orders to raze the City to the Foundations, without sparing one Building besides the Temples; but to do no other Injury to any Man, and to prevent any Plundering. After this, he sent for the *Tribunes*, and other general Officers of the *Romans*; and acquainting them with the Crime of *Alba*, and the Resolutions of the Senate, he gave them necessary Orders, which he had hard-

ly done, when *Metius* came to make him some fresh Complements on the Victory. *Tullus* receiv'd them with an open Air, he praised him excessively in his Turn, and enlarg'd on the Valour of the *Alban* Troops. It would be an unpardonable Crime to leave their Merit unrewarded; to prevent which, he begg'd a List of such superior Officers as had distinguish'd themselves in the Battle. *Metius* drew up a Catalogue presently, and inserting in it the Names of those who had been his Confederates in his Villany, gave it the King.

§. 26. ⁱ *Tullus* upon this, summons an Assembly of all the Army, who were, according to Custom, order'd to appear unarm'd. He took the *Alban* General and Officers into the Tribunal, where he stood himself. Next him he plac'd the *Albans* and the other Allies, and without them the *Romans*, several of whom had Swords hid under their upper Garments; then rising, he made a long Speech; 'He told the Army the Danger they had been in, not from their Enemies: Against their Attempts, their own Valour would have been a sufficient Security, but from their Friends and Allies.' He painted in the blackest Colours a Crime which could hardly be aggravated, and for which the severest Punishments were too mild. 'But the *Romans*, (continued the King, turning to the *Albans*)

ⁱ Liv. l. 1. c. 28. Dion. l. 3. p. 125, 126, 127.

‘ had rather preserve than ruin you; though you
‘ had no Regard to your Alliance, your antient
‘ Confederacy, and natural Union, they remem-
‘ ber what you have forgot. The Senate, whom
‘ I acquainted last Night with your Baseness,
‘ have decreed that your Town shall be raz’d
‘ to the Ground, without sparing any private
‘ Buildings, or any publick ones, besides the
‘ Temples; the Citizens shall lose none of their
‘ Lands, Goods, or Slaves. Those that have
‘ none shall be provided for out of the publick
‘ Revenues of our City, to which you shall be
‘ all remov’d. You shall be divided into our
‘ Tribes and *Curiae*; your noblest Families shall
‘ be receiv’d into our Senate; but for *Metius*,
‘ and the Wretches that conspir’d with him,
‘ they shall be made such Examples as they de-
‘ serve, and teach the most distant Posterity to
‘ regard their Vows, and the Gods to whom
‘ they are made.’

§. 27. The *Albans* heard the King with a
vast Surprise, but that Surprise was agreeable
enough to the poorer Citizens, who thought the
Alteration would be for their Advantage. The
Rich and Honourable could not bear the
Thoughts of leaving their native City, for a
Place where they could hardly expect equal Ho-
nour and Conveniencies of Life. This Variety
of Sentiments created different Murmurs, which
Tullus put an End to, by charging *Metius* to

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urge all he could in his Defence. He, with a Confusion and Disorder which the Consciouſness of his Guilt gave him, at laſt ſaid, ‘ That
 ‘ the Senate of *Alba* had order’d him, when he
 ‘ began the War, to purſue the Meaſures, and
 ‘ take the Steps he had taken; he call’d out to
 ‘ the *Albans* for their Aſſiſtance, and begg’d of
 ‘ them not to ſtand ſtill tamely and ſee them-
 ‘ ſelves ruin’d, and the moſt eminent of their
 ‘ Citizens put to Death before their Eyes.’ The
Albans were extremely mov’d with what he had
 ſaid; and ſome began to withdraw from the Aſ-
 ſembly, with an Intention of fetching their
 Weapons, when, upon a Signal given, the *Ro-*
mans drew their Swords, and the King riſing
 with an Air that was inconceivably terrible:
 ‘ No, *Albans*, ſays he, ’tis no longer in your
 ‘ Power to act the Traitors yourſelves, or de-
 ‘ fend others that have been ſo. Theſe Men
 (pointing to the *Romans* that were arm’d)
 ‘ ſhall immediately diſpatch you, if you offer
 ‘ the leaſt Oppoſition to Juſtice. Receive our
 ‘ Propoſals with Gratitude, ſubmit to your Hap-
 ‘ pineſs; already *Alba* is no more; *Horatius* has
 ‘ levell’d it with the Ground, and remov’d its
 ‘ Inhabitants to *Rome*. That muſt be your
 ‘ Country too for the future, if you will have
 ‘ any. *Metius*, who avows his Villany, and
 ‘ attempts yet to arm you againſt us, ſhall meet
 ‘ a juſt Fate; and if any dare to think of de-
 ‘ fending

‘ sending the Villain, they shall be Partakers of
 ‘ his Punishment as well as his Crime.’

§. 28. He presently order’d *Metius* to be seiz’d on, and whipp’d, then fastening him to two Horses, tore him asunder in the Sight of the whole Army. There is something at first View very shocking in this Punishment. And the *Roman* Authors, in relating this Story, defend their Country’s Reputation at the Expence of their Kings. ’Twas the first Instance^k they observe, and the last of such a kind of Death, in a Nation remarkable, above all others, for the Mildness of its Punishments. The only Way that can be taken to lessen the Barbarity of this Action, is to insist on the Crime that was punish’d, which was the blackest in the World, and which all Ages and Nations have agreed to distinguish among those that were capital, by a more than simple Death. The *Roman* Poet has used a great deal of Art in describing the Death of *Metius*; he has judiciously taken the greatest Notice of the Crime, and even repeated it twice in the few Lines he spends on the Description.

*Haud procul inde citæ Metium in diversa Quadrigæ
 Distulerant (at tu dictis Albane maneres)*

Raptabaique Viri mendacis Viscera Tullus.

Per Sylvam & sparsi rorabant sanguine Vepres.

^k See Liv. l. 1. c. 28. ¹ Virg. *Æn.* l. 8. v. 642. See Servius on the Place, and A. Gell. l. 20. c. 1. As in Mr. Dryden’s Translation, the Design of Virgil was intirely lost, ’twas necessary to make some Changes in it, which were as few as possible.

*Near this the wretched Metius plac'd between
Two fiery Steeds, is dragg'd along the Green.*

*'Twas Tullus Doom: But, traiterous Alban, thou
With more Religion should'st have kept thy Vow.
The Brambles drink the perjur'd Prince's Blood,
And his torn Limbs are left the Vulture's Food.*

^m Immediately after those that had conspir'd with *Metius*, were try'd, and condemn'd to the Deaths appointed by the Laws for Traitors.

§. 29. ⁿ *Horatius*, in the mean time, found an easy Entrance into *Alba*, the Gates being open, and the Walls unguarded. He called an Assembly of the People, gave them an Account of the Battle, their General's Perfidiousness, and the Decree of the Senate, which, without having any Regard to their Desires of a little Delay and Time, at least to be heard in their Defence at *Rome*, he immediately set about executing. He took all imaginable Care to prevent his Troops from plundering any Person of Money or Goods; and brought away all the Inhabitants safe to *Rome*, where the King, who was now return'd from the Army, divided them among the *Romans*, had Houses built for them in such Parts of the City as they chose to live in, brought some of their noblest Families into the *Senate*, and gave the poorer part of the common Lands; and in short used all the Methods

^m Dion. l. 3. p. 128.

ⁿ Livy. l. 1. c. 29. Dion.

of the most engaging Humanity, to make them all satisfied with their new Condition. Mount ° *Cælius* was now added to the City, and the King himself built a Palace and inhabited there; he added ten new Troops of Horse out of the *Albans*, to those he had already; he fill'd up his old Legions with them, and made some new ones. Thus fell *Alba*, 487 Years after its being built by *Ascanius*; it had been continually encreasing in Riches and Power, most of this Time, built thirty Cities by its Colonies, and was destroy'd by the youngest of them.

§. 30. P *Tullus* employ'd the Winter in settling the Affairs of *Rome*; and with the Beginning of the Spring led out his Army against the *Fidenates*. None of the Allies of that People thought fit to assist them; but they hir'd some Troops from neighbouring Cities, and with them came out of *Fidenæ*, and offer'd Battle to *Tullus*. They were easily conquer'd with great Loss, and the King immediately laid Siege to the Town. It was not in a Condition to make a long Resistance. The Siege was prest very vigorously; and *Tullus* would not admit of a Surrender on other Terms, than the giving up of such of the Citizens as he should demand into his Hand. As soon as he was in Possession of the City, he put to Death the Authors of the Conspiracy and Revolt; all the rest he treated

* Liv. l. 1. c. 30. Dion. p. 102.

P Dion. p. 128.

with

with the greatest Mildness: He left them in full Possession of all their Privileges and Estates, and made no Alteration in the Form of their Government. After this he return'd to *Rome*, and triumph'd a second Time.

§. 31. ^a He was not long without being engag'd in a War with the *Sabines*; a Nation of all the Neighbours of *Rome*, the most considerable in Riches and Power next the *Etrurians*. They attack'd *Rome* in its first Original, and made a Peace, after a long and doubtful War, on Conditions honourable to themselves, but advantageous to *Rome*. They had remov'd in great Numbers to the new City, and had one of their Kings sharing in the supreme Authority with *Romulus*. They had given a second King to *Rome*; but notwithstanding the Strictness of their Alliance, they saw the vast Increase of that City by the Ruin of *Alba*, with great Uneasiness, and with an Inclination to act against her, as soon as ever they had any Pretence for doing it. In these Dispositions they quickly found one. There was a Temple sacred to the Goddess *Feronia*, at which People used to meet from all the *Latine* and *Sabine* Cities, in a yearly Festival, to perform some religious Solemnities. It used to be a great Mart for Traders from all Parts. Some *Roman* Merchants going thither, were taken and detain'd, and their Goods seiz'd

^a Liv. l. 1. c. 30. Dion. l. 3. p. 128.

on by the *Sabines*. When *Tullus* sent Embassadors to complain of the Injury, they said, they they did it by way of Reprisals for several Fugitives of their Country, who had fled to the *Roman Asylum*, and been received and protected there.

§. 32. *Tullus* was not at all satisfied with that Answer, and the *Sabines* not being dispos'd to make any Satisfaction, the War broke out. The *Etrurian* Cities, though much prest by the *Sabines*, refus'd to engage in their Cause; but they rais'd a numerous Army of their own, and several Soldiers fled to them from other Cities. The *Romans* had a very large Army too, and they soon came to a Battle. It was fought on both Sides with great Ardour, and the Night put an End to the Engagement, when the Success was not at all determin'd. When the Armies had retir'd, they examin'd their Losses, and found it so great, that neither of them had much Inclination to renew the Fight. Both Parties, as it were by Agreement, left their Camps at the same time, and return'd to their Cities.

§. 33. They came out no more that Year, but the next they drew out greater Forces than before. The Armies met at *Eretum*, a Town about 107 *Stadia* from *Rome*. The Success of this Battle being for a long time very doubtful, *Tullus* lifting up his Hands to the Skies, vow'd that if the Gods would grant his City the Victory,

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tory, he would institute annual Festivals to *Saturn* and *Rhea*, which the *Romans* observe at the Time of gathering in their Corn, and would double the Number of the *Salii*. This Prayer inspir'd the *Romans* with new Courage: They thought the Gods would bless their Attempts for the Devotion of their King; they made more vigorous Efforts than ever, and soon chang'd the Face of the Battle. The *Sabines* fled to their Camp, and the *Romans* pursuing them thither, remain'd in Arms all Night, and by the Break of Day attack'd them in their Intrenchments, and forc'd them. The victorious Army plunder'd the Enemies Country without any Opposition, as long as they thought fit, and then return'd; *Tullus* triumphing a third time.

§. 34. The Loss of this Battle had convinc'd the *Sabines* that their own Forces, while they could not meet with Assistance from their Allies, would not be able to carry on the War to Advantage. They resolv'd therefore to wait for some favourable Opportunity; and sent Embassadors to *Rome* to sue for a Peace, and offer Satisfaction. The Terms *Tullus* insist'd on were, the restoring the Captives, the Cattle, and other Goods of the *Romans* they had seiz'd on, the giving up of Deserters; and for a compleat Satisfaction, the Submission to such a Fine as should be impos'd on them by the Senate. The
Sabines

Sabines readily consented to these Conditions; they solemnly swore to the Peace, and placed the Articles of it in their Temples. After this they remain'd quiet, and kept their Treaties religiously, till they thought they might securely break them, which happen'd in a little time.

§. 35. ^r Fifteen Years after the Destruction of *Alba*, *Tullus* sent Embassadors to the thirty *Latine* Cities, which were peopled from that City, and which always own'd her as their Sovereign, to inform them, that *Rome* had succeeded into all her Rights, and expected from them the same Acknowledgments and Submissions. 'Twas easy enough to prove that *Rome* had both by Conquest and Treaties such a Right as the King pretended to be given up to them by the *Albans*, but the Cities did not seem willing to own it. They return'd no Answer to the Embassadors, but appointed a Meeting of Delegates from all the Cities of *Ferentium*. They voted there, that they would not pay the Respect the *Romans* requir'd; they chose two Generals, and rais'd an Army.

§. 36. While *Tullus* was preparing Forces against them, the *Sabines* revolted, without giving themselves the Trouble of seeking any Pretext. They began with plundering and robbing upon the Frontiers, at first a little Modestly, but quickly more openly, and in greater

^r Dion. l. 3. p. 130.

Numbers; then raising an Army, they resolv'd to march directly against *Rome*, and invited the *Latines* to assist them. The King, upon the first Intelligence he had of their Designs, which was very early, made a Truce with the *Latines*, and they were so honourable Enemies, that though they were easily convinc'd by the *Sabines* how much 'twas their Interest to join them, they refus'd to violate their Treaty. *Tullus* then, with all the Forces he could raise, the greatest Army that had been on Foot, since the building of the City, went to meet the *Sabines*. They were incamp'd near a Wood call'd *Silva Malitiosa*. *Tullus* let his Army rest but one Night, and the next Morning attack'd the Enemy. The Fight was very obstinate, but the *Roman* Horse, by the Accession of the new Troops from *Alba*, being far more numerous than the *Sabines*, broke their Ranks, and put them to Flight. They made a great Slaughter in the Pursuit, took their Camp, and plunder'd it, and having spoil'd all the dead Bodies, and ravag'd the Country, return'd home.

§. 37. The Truce being expir'd, *Tullus* return'd to his War with the *Latines*. It lasted five Years, but was memorable by no Action. The War was carried on by both Parties with great Humanity. There was not one general Battle, no Towns taken by Storm, no People enslav'd. Every Year they march'd into one another's

another's Country about Harvest Time, they gather'd the Corn, and return'd home, and at the Year's End exchang'd the Prisoners they had taken in these Expeditions. *Medullia* only had any hard Treatment by the War; the City, from whence the King himself was originally descended. That Town had been subject to *Rome* ever since the Days of *Romulus*, but had now joined the other Cities, and disown'd her Sovereignty: *Tullus* had Reason therefore to treat it upon a different Foot from the rest; and having made himself Master of it, ^s he took such Measures as might most effectually prevent its revolting a second time. Such a War as this had little of real Hatred in it, and could easily end in an honourable Peace.

§. 38. ^c The Glory and Power of *Rome* was rais'd to an Height extremely considerable, when the People began to be frighted with strange Tales of Prodigies, which happen'd in a Mountain near the Ruins of *Alba*; Voices were said to be heard from the Top of the Mountain, ordering the *Albans* to sacrifice after the Manners of their Ancestors and Country, which they had neglected to do, and fallen into the *Roman* Ceremonies. It was assur'd too, that it had rain'd Stones about the same Place; and these Stories being presently credited, were improv'd by the *Aruspices*, to the ordering of nine Days Sacrifices, which

Dion. only says ἐπιταγή μὴ δὲ νεώτερον.

^c Liv. l. 1 c. 31.

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Livy observes are always repeated upon the Repetition of the Prodigy. Not long after, a Pestilence raged in the City, and completely broke the Spirits of the People. The Neglect of *Numa's* Ceremonies was thought to have provok'd the Anger of the Gods; and the King, who had rejected a great many of them, was forc'd to allow of their Revival.

§. 39. He did not long out-live this Turn of Affairs, which could not but make him very uneasy. In the 32d Year of his Reign his House was set on Fire, by what Means, 'twas unknown, and the King, with his Wife, and all his Family burnt in it. " The common Account of this Accident is, That the King himself being ill, fell into the Superstitions he had condemn'd, and was performing some of the most awful Rites of *Numa*, by which that Prince pretended to be able to call down *Jupiter Elicius*, and other Gods, to his Sacrifices; that the Ceremonies were not rightly perform'd, and instead of bringing down any Gods, brought down only Thunder and Lightning, that consum'd him and his House. This Account, which Posterity seems generally to have credited, did not meet with so much Credit at the Time of *Tullus's* Death. " There were a great many Persons, who suspected *Ancus Martius* of being concern'd in it. He was a Grand-

" Dion. Liv. Plut. in Numâ. Plin. l. 28. c. 4. out of Plin. & l. 2. c. 54. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2. Ex. 1. " Dion.

son of *Numa*, a Man of great Authority and Reputation, on his Grandfather's Account, whom he was thought to resemble. This gave him some Hopes of the Crown, if *Tullus* and his Children were but remov'd out of the Way. He took the Opportunitie of a very stormy Day, when the King, with no Attendants but his own Family was sacrificing, and entring into the Palace with some armed Troops, the Weather having frighted away the Guard, murder'd the King, his Sons, and all his Family, and retir'd unperceiv'd, having set Fire to several Parts of the House. This was only conjectur'd; but no Proof appearing of it, and *Ancus* coming to the Crown afterwards, it was stifled. Perhaps it may be more probable, after all, that the House was burnt by Lightning, or some Accident, without either the Vengeance of the Gods, or the Treachery of Men being concern'd in it.

§. 40. This was the unhappy End of a Prince, who undoubtedly deserv'd a more fortunate one. *Tullus* was a Man born with a true Spirit for Conquest; of an Inclination fit rather to make People great than happy, always ready for War; and of a Conduct and Bravery that could be almost secure of Success in all his Undertakings. In one Respect he excell'd most Princes that were of his Temper; that he never let his natural Ambition and Thirst after Conquest make him guilty of Injustice. Though he was

all his Reign long engag'd in Wars, we cannot find that he ever began one on unreasonable Pretences. His want of Religion, and Aversion to *Numa's* Ceremonies, made him a great many Enemies; and it must be own'd, that at least in his latter Years he very much lost the Affections of the People he govern'd. Tir'd with continual War, and breathing after the Sweets of Peace, they bore his Death with a great deal of Patience, and chose him a Successor, who had a quite different Character, and had as known an Inclination to Peace, as *Tullus* had an Aversion.

§. 41. But they were extremely mistaken in their Measures, and saw Reason to regret the Loss of *Tullus*. The Spirit of *Numa*, which might have its Advantages in the Beginning of the City, when its Power was not so great as to make the neighbouring People think it worth their while to improve such a Disposition, was perfectly unseasonable in *Ancus*. *Rome* was now grown formidable by large Accessions; and the little Nations round about it thought themselves oblig'd to make use of the Easiness of the Prince to lessen the Power of the People. They arm'd against *Rome* immediately, and that Prince, who was so great an Adorer of Peace, spent all his Reign in necessary Wars; and had a more uneasy one than *Tullus* himself might have had if he

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he had lived longer. The Troops *Tullus* had disciplin'd fought bravely, and repell'd the Invaders; but fresh Enemies still arose, and 'twas the great Glory of *Ancus*, to have been able with Toils and Difficulties, to maintain the Conquests of his Predecessor.

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ARISTOMENES.

§. I. **I**T has been observ'd very justly, that those who have recorded the Actions of some of the great Men of Antiquity, have often done them an unspeakable Injury, by representing them much greater than they were. Posterity far from being impos'd on, to the Advantage of the Hero, has disbeliev'd Truths themselves, for the Falshoods they were mix'd with; and when 'twas a little difficult to discern between the one and the other, Men have chosen to doubt of the whole, rather than take the Pains necessary to make a more accurate Judgment. This is a Way of thinking a great deal more common and easy than reasonable. We are willing to take it for granted, that Men, whose Virtues we have no Inclinations to imitate, were much less eminent than they really were; and to flatter that unjust Disposition, we are pleas'd that their fabulous Archievements, which are indeed inimitable, have given us a
Pre-

Pretence for doubting of those glorious Actions, in which we might, and ought to follow them. These Reflections naturally offer themselves to one that is writing the Life of *Aristomenes* the *Messenian*.

§. 2. The Age he lived in was historical, but not much remov'd from that which was justly call'd fabulous. The Account which we have of his Life, we owe almost intirely to his Countrymen. Their Country was not fruitful of great Men. *Aristomenes* was almost the only Person it gave Birth to, who was of a Reputation universally acknowledg'd; and the *Messenians*, who had no other Heroes, among whom they could divide their Praises, lay under a great Temptation of uniting them all in his Character, and making him at least equal to the greater Number other People could boast of. Yet they have not been so extravagant as might have been expected. Fable is not often mix'd with History in their Relations; and a Man must be strangely inclin'd to Scepticism, who does not think so much of them true, as may make it clear beyond Suspicion, that *Aristomenes* was a very great Man.

§. 3. In one Respect the *Messenians* are extraordinary in their Conduct. They were not at all pleas'd to have it thought, according to the usual Custom, that their Deliverer was the

Son of some God, or a *Dæmon*. They discourag'd a Fable of his Mother's being honour'd with the Embraces of a God, under the Shape of a Dragon; and in those religious Respects they paid to his Memory, they consider him only as the Son of *Nicomedes* and *Nicotelea*. private *Messenians*, but of the ^b Family that was Royal, before the Ruin of their Country, and undoubted Descendants of *Hercules*. There is a great deal of good Sense in this pretended Humility. The Compliment is stronger on their Country; nor can it be reasonably reckon'd a Reflection on their Hero, that being all mortal, he performed such Actions, for which others were generally believ'd the Offspring of Deities.

§. 4. *Messenia*, the most Western and Southernly Part of *Peloponnesus*, was a very fine Country. When the ^c *Heraclidæ* divided *Peloponnesus* by Lot; this Part of it was look'd upon as so much superior to *Laconia*, that *Cresphontes*, the first King of *Messenia*, of that Family, secur'd it to himself by an Imposture, to the Prejudice of his Brother's Sons, who ought to have had an equal Chance with himself, and who were thereupon made joint Kings of *Sparta*. After the Fraud was too late discover'd, there was a continual Inclination to Feuds between the two People. ^d At last they broke out into an open

^a Paus. Mess. c. 14.

^b Ib. c. 15.

^c Paus. Mess. c. 3.

Diod. Sic. l. 15. Olym. 111. y. 4. Apollod. l. 3. c. 8. §. 4.

^d Paus. Mess. c. 4.—13. Just. l. 3. c. 4, 5.

War, which was carry'd on for a long time with great Fury on both Sides, and at last ended in the intire Conquest of *Messenia*. ^e The *Spartans* were always reckon'd rigorous Lords. They impos'd on those *Messenians* that remain'd in the Country, an Oath, that they would never revolt from them; they obliged them to bring every Year half of the Product of their Ground to *Sparta*, as a Tribute; and what was the most severe and humbling of all, they forc'd them all without any Distinction of Sex, to attend as Mourners at the Funerals of the *Lacedemonian* Kings and Nobles.

§. 5. *Aristomenes* was born when his Country was in this miserable Condition; and it was no wonder that he found great Numbers resolv'd with himself to die generously in the Cause of Liberty, rather than live in so wretched a Slavery. His Quality made it easy for him to engage his Countrymen in a Deference for his Sentiments. When a Revolt was agreed on, he began, by sending Persons he could confide in, to the *Argives* and ^f *Arcadians*. Those People had been antient Allies of the *Messenians*. They had assisted them in their last unhappy War; they were always inclin'd to act against the *Spartans*, who were very bad Neighbours, and

^e Pauf. Mess. c. 14. Ælian Var. Hist. l. 6. c. 1. Tyrtæi Trag. ap. Pauf. and Strabo. l. 6. p. 193. Ed. Genev.
^f Pauf. Mess. c. 15.

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on whom they were at that time preparing to make War. They receiv'd then the Intimations of the *Messenians* Designs with Joy, and assur'd them of all manner of Assistance.

§. 6. & On these Assurances *Aristomenes* broke out into open Hostilities. He came to an Action the first Year of the War at *Dera*, a small *Messenian* Village. He had not yet receiv'd any Troops from his Allies, nor had the *Spartans* any from theirs. Their Forces were pretty equal, and the Event of the Engagement was so too. *Aristomenes* is said to have perform'd incredible Things in the Battle, and was immediately after saluted King by his little Army. He modestly refused the Title, and only assum'd that of General, with the Power belonging to that Name, which was the Supreme in Affairs relating to the War. He was justly of Opinion, that nothing could give a more happy Prospect in the War, than the beginning by a vigorous Opposition to his Adversaries. He came himself by Night into *Sparta*, and fix'd with his own Hand a Shield to the Temple of *Minerva Chalciaëcus*, with an Inscription, that *Aristomenes* gave it to the Goddess out of the *Spartan* Spoils. This Act had the Success he had promis'd himself. The *Spartans* began to have just Apprehensions of so daring an Enemy; and he took Care their Fears should not be unreasonable.

§ Pauf. Mess. l. 15.

§. 7. 'Tis

§. 7. ^h 'Tis uncertain whether or no he had any Part in an Exploit which would have deserv'd great Praises, if it had not been as impious as daring. Two young *Messenians* of *Andania*, the Town where the Revolt began, and where *Aristomenes* himself was born and educated, Men of a vigorous Constitution, and yet of a Beauty uncommon in their Sex, used to make Excursions into the Territories of *Sparta*. On a Day sacred to *Castor* and *Pollux*, all the *Spartan* Army having perform'd their Sacrifices to the Gods, were engag'd in Feasts and Sports proper to the Solemnity. The young *Messenians* putting on white Coats, and Purple upper Garments, and holding Spears in their Hands, rid on two very fine Horses into the midst of the *Spartans*. They receiv'd them with Adoration, as the Deities themselves graciously present at the Rites they were paying to them. But the young Men immediately striking those about them with their Lances, flew and wounded several; and having violated the sacred Solemnities, before the *Spartans* were recover'd out of their Surprize, broke out from among them, and return'd safe to *Andania*. Those ⁱ Authors, who say that *Aristomenes* was one of the *Messenians* who perform'd this Action, write a little heedlessly. But 'tis not improbable he might have encourag'd the Design. The Boldness of it must be agree-

^h Polyæ. l. 2. c. 33. § 4.

Polyæ.

able

able to his Genius; and the want of Respect to the *Spartan* Deities shewn in it, perhaps would hardly have been a sufficient Reason for his disapproving it.

§. 8. ^k Soon after this the *Lacedæmonians* consulting the Oracle at *Delphi*, about the Event of the War, were order'd to fetch a General from *Athens*. They sent Embassadors to desire one from them. The *Athenians* were unwilling to disobey the Oracle, and yet more unwilling to aid the Increase of a Power which was already stronger than they thought for their Security. ^l They had a Schoolmaster among them, whose Name was *Tyrtaeus*; a Man of a despicable Figure and Condition. He was lame; he was a Poet too; but his Verses only serv'd to diminish his Reputation, and make him be universally esteem'd a Madman. They could not think any Person more proper to give the *Lacedæmonians* as there was none likely to help them less in the War they were carrying on. But they were extremely mistaken. The new General sooner came to *Sparta*, but he began writing Verses. He chose Valour for his Subject; he recounted the Actions of antient Heroes; he put the *Spartans* in mind of what their Ancestors had done, and made them ashamed of being descended from them, and owning any Fear. The *Lac*

^k Pauf. Meff.
Diog. Laer. l. 2. c. 43.

^l Just. l. 2. c. 5. Strabo. l. 8. p. 23.

dæmonians were not half so polite as they were brave. *Tyrtaeus's* Elogies were as much admir'd at *Sparta* as they had been despis'd in his own Country. Perhaps too their Admiration might brighten his *Genius*, and occasion his writing better than he had ever done before. However, this is certain, that they began to look upon him as inspir'd, and were more effectually recover'd to a Spirit of Bravery, by the Lines he repeated on all Occasions, sometimes to the Kings and Nobles, sometimes to the meanest of the People, than they could in all Probability have been, if the *Athenians* had sent them one of their most valiant and experienc'd Commanders. Yet before they would own their new General's ^m Authority, they made him a Citizen of *Sparta*, that they might not be thought in future Ages to have wanted at any time Leaders from another Country, which they thought would be a Reflection on their own.

§. 9. ⁿ The War was then continued on both Sides with Vigour. The next Year large Armies were brought into the Field. Each Nation brought now the Forces of their Allies with them: The *Messenian* had Troops from *Argos*, *Sicyon*, *Elis*, and *Arcadia*, and some of their own Countrymen, whose Ancestors had fled from the Ruin of the former War. The *Corinthians* and some of the *Lepreatæ* join'd the *Lacedæmonians*. The

^m Plut. Lac. Apophth. p. 130. Ed. Francof.

ⁿ Paus. Armics

Armies met at a Village, call'd the Monument of the Goat, because *Hercules* is said to have made an Agreement with the Sons of *Neleus*, and to have sworn it on the Entrails of a Goat in that Place. ° *Aristomenes* had for a sort of a Guard eighty young *Messenians*, chosen by himself, who always fought about him. At the Head of this brave Troop he engag'd the Strength of the *Spartan* Army, where *Anaxander*, one of their Kings, fought in Person. The Resistance was very obstinate, and the Fight lasted for several Hours. At last the *Spartans* began to give way, and *Aristomenes* ordering another Part of his Army to pursue them, mov'd with his young Men against those Bodies that still kept their Ground. He met with less Resistance in other Places, and in a little time put the whole Army to Flight. We are told that he pursued them to a wild Pear-Tree, which grew in the Middle of the Plain. *Theoclus*, a Soothsayer, whom he kept always with him, charg'd him to stir no farther, because *Castor* and *Pollux*, Guardians of their native *Sparta*, were sitting on that Tree. The General was a little too warm, and while he went on heedlessly he lost his Shield, and while he was employ'd in looking for it, the rest of the *Spartans* escap'd. He found his Shield at last, which he afterwards dedicated in the Temple of *Trophonius* at *Lebadea*, where it was to be seen for several Ages.

§. 10. After this Victory, *Aristomenes* enter'd into *Andania*, in a sort of a Triumph. He was met by the Matrons and Virgins, who strew'd Flowers where he was to pass, and sung to his Glory a Song which had more of Truth than Poetry in it, and which has yet been preserv'd to Posterity.

O'er Stenyclerus glorious Plain,
Strew'd over with the mighty Slain.
To the tall Hill that, crown'd with Wood,
High to the Skies erects its Head,
Great Aristomenes pursu'd,
The trembling Spartans round him fled.

Lyrtæus had Occasion for all his Poetry to keep the *Spartans* from despairing. He was forc'd to make new Elogies, which at last had their usual Success; and to shew that he could do other Things besides making Verses, he supply'd the Loss of his Troops, by lifting some of the *Helots*, making them Citizens of *Sparta*, and marrying them to the Widows of those that perish'd in the Battle.

§. 11. *Aristomenes* was not long idle. One Evening he took his Guard of young Men, and some other of the best Troops of the *Messenians*, and attack'd a Town in *Laconia*, call'd *Pharæ*. The Garrison being surpris'd, made but a weak

Resistance. He plunder'd the City; but returning homewards with a considerable Booty, he had his Rear fallen upon by a large Body of *Spartans*, commanded by *Anaxander* himself. He turn'd upon them; and soon oblig'd them to retire. He was wounded in his Thigh with a Dart, as he was preparing to improve his Advantage; but he return'd home without losing any Part of his Booty. The *Messenians* tell us his next Design was on *Sparta* it self; but a Vision of *Helen* and the *Dioscuri* deterr'd him from that Enterprize. He undertook then one of greater Consequence than Hazard. He seiz'd on some of the richest and noblest Virgins of *Caryæ*, while they were performing some religious Solemnities to *Diana*. In carrying them off, he was oblig'd to rest one Night in a *Messenian* Village. While he was sleeping, some of his young Men, heated with Wine, attempted the Chastity of the Virgins. *Aristomenes* startled at the Confusion, came among them immediately; but neither his Presence, nor all the Persuasions he could use, were so powerful as the Lust that urg'd them to their Extravagancies. He was enrag'd, and killing some of the most furious with his own Hand, he put a Stop to the Madness of the others, and brought all the Women safe to *Andania*. They were afterwards ransom'd by their Parents and Relations at very high Rates.

§. 12. ^a It has been always reckon'd dishonourable to make War with Women; but a second Attempt of the like Nature convinc'd *Aristomenes*, that the attacking those of *Sparta* was unsafe too. There was a Temple of *Ceres* in *Ægila*, an open Town of *Laconia*, of great Antiquity, and much resorted to. Some Matrons were sacrificing there to the Goddess on a solemn Occasion, when *Aristomenes*, who had been inform'd of their Meeting, came upon them of a suddain. The Matrons calling the Goddess to their Assistance, took the Weapons they used for their Sacrifice, and the Spits on which the Victims were roasted, and with them made so vigorous a Defence, that they wounded several of the *Messenians*, and forc'd the rest to retire. *Aristomenes* himself, wounded and knock'd down with their Torches, was taken Prisoner. The Liberties of *Messenia* had been lost with his Life, if the Priestess *Archidamia* had not been more tender than her Companions. 'Tis said a little Love enter'd into her Compassion. She freed him that very Night, pretending to the other Ladies, that he had unbound himself, by burning the Cords he was tied with, and after that easily found a Way for an Escape. The Story was believ'd, and several ^r Authors relate he indeed did escape by that Method.

^a Paus. Meff. l. 17.
Polyæ. l. 2. c. 33. §. 3.

^r Plin. l. 11. c. 70. Ed. Hard.

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§. 13. Yet

§. 13. Yet the Methods by which the *Spartans* carried on the War, were much more inexcusable than those used by *Aristomenes*. *Aristocrates* was King and General of the *Arcadians*, and commanded a large Body of Troops sent by them to the Aid of the *Messenians*. Him the *Lacedæmonians* found Means to corrupt; and when the Armies were ready to engage at a Place called the great Ditch, he took his Officers aside, and with a feign'd Concern, inform'd them that he had consulted the Entrails, which assur'd him of an ill Success of the Battle; he laid before them the Consequences of the Loss of it, and the Impossibility of the Remainders of his Forces making a Retreat. He then told them he would give a Signal, at which all his Troops should march off without engaging. Accordingly, at the very Beginning of the Fight, he drew off all his *Arcadians* at once, leaving the left Wing and the Body of the *Messenian* Army quite bare. The Concern of the *Messenians* was inexpressible; instead of attacking their Enemies, they stood amaz'd, they turn'd to the *Arcadians*, they conjur'd them with Tears in their Eyes, not to abandon them in this Extremity; then they call'd them Traitors, and perjur'd, and in the blackest Terms reproach'd them with their Baseness. In the mean time the *Spartans* surrounded them, and gain'd a Victory a great deal more easy than glorious. *Aristomenes* only, and his little Guard

made

made a vigorous Resistance, and for a time left the Fortune of the Day uncertain, where he fought; but fresh Forces pouring in upon him, and his bravest Officers falling around him, he was obliged to retire, and made a Retreat in pretty good Order with the few Forces he had yet remaining.

§. 14. This Defeat obliged the *Messenians* to abandon *Andania* and all the Inland Country, and to retire to *Ira*, a Castle of great Strength on the Top of a Mountain; from whence too they found the Means to keep a Communication open with the Sea. The *Spartans* immediately besieg'd them there; but they met with unexpected Difficulties, and lay above eleven Years before the Town. *Aristomenes* got together a Body of 300 Men, and with that plunder'd all the Country, as well his own as that of *Sparta*. The *Spartans* could find no other Security, but the ordering that no Corn should be sowed in *Messenia*, or in the Frontiers of *Laconia*. This Remedy had like to have been of dangerous Consequence. It immediately caus'd a Famine, and soon after a Sedition. The old lame General had a new Subject for his Poetry; he fell a writing again, and repeated Verses without End, till at last he calm'd the Disorder, and brought them to resolve the carrying on the War with

Pauf. Mess. c. 18.

G 2

Vigour,

Vigour, and bearing its necessary Misfortunes with Patience.

§. 15. In the meantime *Aristomenes*, one Evening, drew out his Troops, and by hasty Marches reach'd *Amyclæ* before the Break of Day ; he surpris'd the Town, plunder'd it, and return'd home with his Prey before the *Spartans*, that were sent in Pursuit of him, could overtake him. But he continu'd those Excursions too long to be able to practise them always with the like Success. In one of them he fell into a Body of Troops that lay in Ambush. It was above half the *Lacedemonian* Army, and headed by both the Kings. Notwithstanding the Surprise, and the Vastness of the Odds, he made a brave Defence, and was like to force his Way through them, when, after having receiv'd several other Wounds, he was knock'd down with a Stone. Before he recover'd his Senses, the *Spartans* rush'd in upon him, and took him Prisoner, scarce alive. Fifty of his Band were taken with him ; they were all carry'd to *Sparta*, and after some Consideration, 'twas resolv'd they should be thrown into ^t *Ceada* ; that was the Name of a deep Cave, into which such Criminals, as were condemn'd to Death for Crimes of the blackest Nature, used to be thrown. A sort of Punishment resembling that of the *Tarpeian* Rock among the *Romans*. The other *Messenians* were

^t Plin. l. 11. c. 70. Polyæ. l. 2. c. 31.

dash'd to pieces, or at least destroy'd with the Fall, and nothing less than a Miracle could preserve *Aristomenes* from sharing in their Fate. Providence wrought one in his Favour, and preserv'd him by an Accident the most surprising that ever was heard of.

§. 16. ^u Some Authors have reported, that an Eagle, receiving his Body, bore it gently down on its Wings. ^w Others, that he was thrown down arm'd, his Companions being all disarm'd; that his Shield gather'd Air, and made the Fall slow and gentle. This is suppos'd to have given Occasion for the former Story, because 'tis certain his ^x Shield had an Eagle engraven on it. Whatever broke the Fall, 'tis agreed that he came to the Bottom without receiving any Injury. He lay among the dead Bodies of his Companions, wrapping himself up in his Garments, and waiting for Death with all the Constancy of an Hero. The third Day of his being there, he heard a Noise, and looking out saw, by the glimmering Light, a Fox making to the Carkasses. He stay'd patiently till it came within his Reach, and then hastily seiz'd on it. He kept his Hold with one Hand, and with the other held his Cloak to its Mouth, whenever it offer'd to bite him. He ran after it where the Way was broad enough, where it was too narrow, he let the Beast drag him after it. He

^u Pauf.

^w Polyæ. l. 2. c. 31.

^x Pauf. Mess. l. 16.

came at last so far, that the Passage was only large enough for the Fox, and finding by the Light's coming in, that he was not far from an open Place, he ventur'd to let his Guide go, and making way for himself with his Hands, got out of his Dungeon, and quickly came safe to *Ira*, where the *Messenians* receiv'd him with inexpressible Transports.

§. 17. ^y The Report of *Aristomenes's* Return to his Countrymen was brought to *Sparta* in a little time; but it was too improbable to gain an easy Credit. A few Days convinc'd them of the Truth of it. The *Corinthians* had sent some Forces to assist in the Siege of *Ira*. *Aristomenes* was inform'd of their Motions, and learning at the same time that they march'd heedlessly, and that their Camps were but ill guarded, he attack'd them in the Night, slew all their Generals, cut most of their Forces to pieces, and plunder'd all the Camp. Such an Action no one could have perform'd but he; and the *Spartans*, with Amazement and Horror, were forc'd to believe he was alive.

§. 18. After this *Aristomenes* offer'd to *Jupiter Ithomates* Sacrifices call'd *Hecatombonia*, because none had a Right to offer them till after he had slain an hundred of his ^z Country's Enemies with his own Hand. He is said to have made these Oblations three different times: The

^y Pauf. Mess. c. 19.

^z Plin. l. 11. c. 70.

first after the Fight at the Monument of the Goat; the second was after this Defeat of the *Corinthians*; the third, after several Excursions he had made with great Success and Slaughter. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Romulus*, after having expos'd the *Roman* Authors, who, to heighten the Glory of that Prince, tell us in an Engagement, wherein 14000 of the Enemy perish'd, he kill'd himself above half of that Number, observes, that the *Messenians* are a little extravagant too, in reporting that their General kill'd 300 of the *Spartans* with his own Hands: I own, I am not at all convinc'd of the Justice of this Remark. The Story the *Romans* relate is completely fabulous; but I can't see the least Resemblance between it, and the Account the *Messenians* give of their Hero. That a Man of *Aristomenes's* Valour and Boldness should, in a War of near 20 Years, full of Actions, kill himself 300 Enemies, has nothing that seems to me to carry an Air of Improbability in it. A Man that doubts of such Facts as these, must believe little certain in History. It may be said too, that *Aristomenes's* offering such Sacrifices, as intimated he had kill'd 300 *Spartans*, though he really had not compleated that Number, might be the Action of a good Politician and prudent General, to dishearten his Enemies, and enliven the Courage of his own Soldiers, in a War so very unequal. But as

the Thing is not incredible, we are not oblig'd to suppose such Artifices. *Clemens Alexandrinus* has improv'd this Story into the sacrificing of 300 *Spartans* by *Aristomenes*; one of whom was *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, a Prince unhappily dead before *Aristomenes* was born. This Romance is faithfully copied by *Eusebius* and other Apologists for Christianity, antient and modern.

§. 19. The *Spartans* were now engag'd in the Celebration of some religious Rites, and to be more at Leisure to observe them, they made a Truce of forty Days with the *Messenians*. All this while some Archers, Auxiliaries from *Crete*, thought themselves under no Obligations to abstain from Hostilities. They made continual Inroads on the Country of the *Messenians*, and in one of them met with a much greater Prey than they could possibly expect. 'Twas *Aristomenes* himself, who, walking out alone on the Security of the Truce, was on a sudden surpris'd, and bound by seven of them. They immediately dispatch'd two of their Number to *Sparta* with the good News; the rest carried their Prisoner to a *Messenian* Cottage; for 'twas almost Evening when they took him, and they were not near enough to the Territories of *Sparta* to reach them that Night. The Cottage was inhabited only by an old Widow and her Daughter. The young Maid had dreamt the
Night

Night before, that some Wolves had brought into the House a Lion bound, with his Nails pluck'd off; that she had unbound the Lion, and given him Nails, which he presently employ'd, to tear his Keepers in pieces. She recollected her Dream upon *Aristomenes's* being brought in, and as soon as she heard his Name, did not doubt of its being prophetical, and resolv'd to do all she could in order to the fulfilling of it. She plied the *Cretans* largely with Drink, till they fell fast asleep; then taking the Sword of one that seem'd to sleep the soundest, she cut *Aristomenes's* Bonds, and gave him the Sword, with which he immediately stabb'd the Wretches that seiz'd him. The Maid he took with him to *Ira*, and married her to his Son *Gorgus*, a young Man of about eighteen.

§. 20. ^a 'Twas now the eleventh and last Year of the Siege of *Ira*. After the great Defeat of the *Messenians*, *Aristomenes* and *Theoclus* consulting the Oracle at *Delphi* about the Fate of their Country, receiv'd this Answer.

Ἔς τε τρεῖς πίνῃσι Νέδης ἐλικόρρσον ὕδωρ
Οὐκ ἔτι Μεσσηνὴν ῥύομα· σχεδόθεν γὰρ ὀλεθρος·

*Of thy Messenia constant Care
The Gods shall take, till at the Brink
Of Neda's Stream a Goat shall drink.
Thence date her Ruin and Despair.*

^a Paus. Meff. c. 20.

The

The River *Neda* has its Springs in Mount *Lycæus*; it runs through *Arcadia*, then turning back towards *Messenia*, divides it from *Elis*. The *Messenians* took a great deal of Care to prevent Goats from drinking at the River: But about this time *Theoclus*, walking by the River-side, saw a wild Figtree, which, instead of growing upwards, bent to the Water, and just touch'd it with some of its Branches. That Tree the People of the Country call'd *τεῖνον*; and as that was the Word made use of by the Oracle, the Soothsayer began to think the Prediction was now fulfill'd, and the Ruin of *Messenia* very near. He carry'd *Aristomenes* to the Place, and acquainted him with his Opinion. The General enter'd into his Sentiments, and from that time began to prepare for a Fate, he now look'd upon as inevitable.

§. 21. ^b The *Messenians* had some sacred mystical Pledges handed down to them from a very remote Antiquity, on the Preservation of which their Country's final Ruin or Safety was believ'd to depend. If these were lost, they were to be destroy'd without any Hopes of Recovery; if preserv'd, however low they might be brought, they should certainly flourish out of their Ruins. *Aristomenes* took these one Night, and going to *Itbome*, a City, once the Capital of the *Messenians*, but ruin'd in the first *Spartan*

^b See Pauf. Mess. c. 26.

War, buried them in the most desolate Place he could find there, and calling upon *Jupiter Ithomates*, and all the *Messenian* Deities, solemnly committed to their Trust the last Hopes of his sinking Country.

§. 22. The *Messenians* were not very closely besieg'd in *Ira*. They were still Masters of all the Valley between the Foot of the Mountain and the River *Neda*, and several of them lived in Houses without the Walls of the City. A Servant of *Emperamus*, a noble *Spartan*, who used to water his Master's Herds at the River, saw and liked the Wife of a *Messenian*, that lived without the Walls, as she came to fetch Water over against him. He enter'd into a pretty familiar Conversation with her, and used his Opportunities so well, that at last he engag'd her to admit his Visits on such Nights as her Husband watch'd : For all the Citizens took their Turns in guarding the Castle, where there was some Danger of a Surprise from the Enemy. The Fortifications had been built up hastily, and there was no Guard-house, nor indeed Shelter for those that were upon the Guard. One Night there arose a great Storm and Shower of Rain, and the General's Absence made the Guard negligent in performing their Duty. *Aristomenes* had made an Agreement with a *Cephalanian* Merchant, his Friend, to furnish the *Messenians* with some Corn and other Provisions. The Man in coming

coming to *Ira*, fell into the Hands of the *Lacedemonians*, and *Aristomenes* being inform'd of his Misfortune, attack'd the Party that had made him Prisoner, freed him, and brought him with all the Provisions he was bringing with him safe to *Ira*; but he was himself wounded in the Action. His Wound confin'd him to his House, and prevented his walking the Rounds, as he generally did every Night. The Centinels secure on this Account, forsook their Posts, and retir'd every one to his own House. The Husband, whose Wife had the Intrigue with the *Spartan*, was one of them that Night, and the Gallant as usual supplied his Absence. The Wife was surpris'd at his Return, but found time to hide her Adulterer, and then receiv'd her Husband with a well dissembled Tendernefs, and kindly wonder'd what happy Accident had brought him home so much sooner than she expected. He told her the whole Story, and as soon as ever the *Spartan* heard the Castle was left unguarded, he made all the Haste he could to the Camp before the Town, which, in the Absence of both the Kings, was at that time commanded by his Master. He acquainted him with the Negligence of the Besieg'd, and convinc'd him how imprudent it would be to neglect an Opportunity that might never offer its self again.

§. 23. ^c The Darkneſs of the Night, and the terrible Storm that ſtill continued, favour'd the *Spartans* ſo much, that with ſcaling Ladders they were got within the Caſtle, without meeting any Oppoſition from the *Meffenians*. *Gorgus* the Son of *Ariſtomenes*, was the firſt Man that perceiv'd they were got into the Town. His Father, wounded as he was, came out, and endeavour'd to encourage the Citizens. They were ſo confounded, that there was not any Poſſibility of getting them into any conſiderable Body. *Ariſtomenes* went about all Night with a little Troop he had pick'd up out of the Stragglers, to call ſuch from their Houſes as were yet ignorant of the Confuſion. But 'twas in vain to attempt any thing, his Orders could not be heard nor obey'd. As ſoon as they had lighted any Torches, the Wind and the Rain immediately put them out again. The *Spartans* on their Side thought it was enough, if they could maintain the Poſts they were in till the Morning.

§. 24. When it was Day, *Ariſtomenes* preſt his Soldiers to make their laſt Efforts for their Country, and yet drive the Enemy out of the Town. They were moved with what he ſaid, and Deſpair it ſelf encreasing their Courage, they prepar'd to attack the *Spartans*. The Women got to the Tops of their Houſes to throw down Tiles and Stones on the Enemy, but the Vio-

^c Pauſ. Meſſ. c. 21.

lence of the Storm was so great, that they could not stand against it themselves. They came down, they took Arms themselves, and encourag'd the Men, as well by their Example as by Words. But the Storm increasing, and becoming yet more dreadful by the Day, all their Attempts were ineffectual. The Rain was accompanied with Peals of Thunder, and the Lightning flash'd directly in the *Messenians* Faces. The *Spartans* took new Courage from its thundring on their right Hand; they were besides that much more numerous; yet they thought it greater Prudence to weary out the Enemy, than to attack them. They rested by Turns, and had fresh Supplies from their Camp continually. While the *Messenians* had neither Repose, nor Refreshment. They were half dead with Cold, Hunger, and Thirst; and the Women, who were still in Arms, could not possibly bear up any longer.

§. 25. They had held out thus till the third Day, when *Theoclus* taking *Aristomenes* aside,
 ‘ To what Purpose (says he) are all these Pains?
 ‘ You see the Fate of our Country; and ’twere
 ‘ a sort of Impiety to oppose the Decrees of
 ‘ Heaven any longer. For me, I’m resolv’d to
 ‘ give up a Life, which is no longer necessary
 ‘ nor useful to *Messenia*. Be it your Care to
 ‘ preserve yours for her. Watch over your
 ‘ Country’s Ruins; and while you live, let not

'*Sparta* have a sure and easy Conquest.' Having said this, he rush'd headlong with a few Followers upon the Enemy, and after a great Slaughter fell himself. *Aristomenes* putting the Women and Children in the Middle of his Troops, giving his Son *Gorgus* the Rear, and leading the Body himself, forc'd a Passage out of the Town. The *Lacedemonians* readily made Way for him, and thought it safer to make a Bridge for such an Enemy, than by too obstinate a Resistance to provoke him to Attempts that might yet be fatal to them.

§. 26. As soon as the ^d *Arcadians* heard of the taking of *Ira*, they enjoin'd their King to lead them against the *Spartans*, that they might prevent the Ruin of their Confederates, or share themselves in it. *Aristocrates* was still living, and still in the Interest of *Sparta*. Instead of bringing any Forces to the Assistance of the *Messenians*, he assur'd his Countrymen they had no Friends to succour, all of them having perish'd with the Town. They were soon after better inform'd, and sending their principal Nobility before, they went out themselves in a large Body to meet the generous Exiles at Mount *Lyceum*: They receiv'd them with the utmost Hospitality. They offer'd to distribute them all among their Cities, and to give them some Part of their ^e Country; and they actually gave their Daughters in Mar-

^d Paus. Mess. c. 22.

^e Polyb. l. 4. c. 33.

riage to some young *Messenians* that were unmarried.

§. 27. 'Twas impossible for *Aristomenes* to sit still tamely and see his Country ruin'd. He pick'd out of all his Army 500 Men, whom he knew to be of a Valour fit for desperate Actions. He assembled then the *Arcadians* with their King, whom he had not all this while suspected of any other Crime but Cowardise, and laid before them the Design he had projected. 'Twas this: ' While the *Spartans* were busied on their ' new Conquest, and all taken up in plundering ' *Ira*, he intended to march in the Evening and ' attack *Sparta* it self.' Three hundred *Arcadians* voluntarily offer'd their Assistance in the Design. The Sacrifices not promising a favourable Success in the Enterprize, it was delay'd till the next Day, and by that time *Aristocrates* had discover'd it to the *Spartans*. The Servant he sent to *Anaxander*, in his Return, fell into the Hands of the *Arcadians*, who had begun to have some Suspensions of their King. They search'd him, and found upon him a Letter of *Anaxander's*, which was examin'd in an Assembly of the Nation. The *Spartan* King had in that made a grateful Mention of the antient Services of the *Arcadian*, and assured him he might depend on suitable Returns for all his Merits. The Importance of the last Discovery was at large insisted upon, and the Treachery of the
I unhappy

the unhappy Prince expos'd in the clearest Terms.

§. 28. The Justice of the *Arcadians* was very expeditious. Without much Deliberation they resolv'd to stone their King, and desired the *Messenians* to help them in the Execution. They look'd upon *Aristomenes* as expecting Orders from him. He turn'd his Eyes on the Ground, and burst out into Tears. The ^f *Arcadians* then were the Executioners of their own Sentence; and after the King was dead, and thrown out of their Territories unburied, they erected a Pillar in the Temple of *Jupiter Lycæus*, with this Inscription.

*§ Sure Vengeance waits on Monarch's Perjuries;
In vain they hide their Guilt from Mortals Eyes,
While there are Gods, and Justice rules the Skies. }
The Traitor, by whose Arts Messenia fell,
The Thunderer found, reveal'd, and sent to Hell.
Great Jove! Abhorrer of a guilty Reign!
All Hail! and ever guard Arcadia's Plain.*

Such was the End of *Aristocrates*, and such the Principles of a generous Race, undebauch'd by slavish Sophistry, and justly ignorant of any Power that was not guided by the Laws, and accountable to them. However, if what *Polybius*

^f Plut. de serâ Num. vindictâ. p. 458. Polyb. l. 4. c. 33.

^g Paus. & Polyb.

relates is true, that they put all *Aristocrates's* Family to Death with him, their Vengeance perhaps was a little too severe.

§. 29. ^hThe Inhabitants of *Pylus* and *Mothone*, and some other Sea-port Towns of *Messenia*, upon the taking of *Ira*, left their Country, and set sail for *Cyllene*, a Port of *Elis*. From thence they sent to those that were in *Arcadia*, to desire they would join with them in seeking out some new Country, and to beg *Aristomenes* for their General in the Expedition. He told them he would spend the Remainder of his Life in disturbing the Tyrants of his Country; but he gave them *Manticlus*, the Son of *Theoclus*, a Youth of great Bravery and Expectation, and *Gorgus* his own Son, to be their Generals. About this time his Brother-in-Law *Euergetidas* join'd him, and having learn'd, with a great deal of Regret, *Aristomenes's* Design on *Sparta*, and the Treachery that had prevented its succeeding; he took fifty *Messenians*, and returning to *Ira*, attack'd the *Spartans*, still employ'd in plundering the Town, and after a prodigious Slaughter fell himself, with all his Companions. The rest of the *Messenians* went to their Countrymen at *Cyllene*. There *Aristomenes* resign'd up all his Authority into the Hands of the new Generals, and gave an intire Permission to the Soldiers to follow them, which most of them made use of, hardly any, besides

^h Paus. Mess. c. 23.

some old Men, and such as were unable to travel, remaining in *Arcadia*.

§. 30. The Fleet winter'd at *Cyllene*, the *Eleans* generously supplying them with Money and Provision. In the Spring the *Messenians* held a Consultation about the Course they should steer. The Generals were of different Opinions. *Gorgus*, with a paternal Hatred to *Sparta*, was for removing no further than *Zante*, from whence they might with Ease infest the Coasts of *Laconia*. *Mantichus* thought it to little Purpose, to entertain Thoughts of troubling the *Spartans*, which would rather make their own Condition uneasy, than do any considerable Damage to their Enemies. While the Contest was yet warm, *Anaxilas*, Monarch of *Rhegium*, whose Ancestors were *Messenians*, and settled in that Country after the Ruin of their own in the first *Spartan* War, sent to desire their Assistance. He was engag'd in a War with the *Zancleï*, Inhabitants of that Part of *Sicily*, which was just over-against his Territories. The War was very bloody; and as he had no Fleet of his own, the Actions in it were not always to his Advantage. He promis'd the *Messenians* whatever they should gain from the *Zancleï*, that he would assist them himself in the Conquest, and sent such a Description of the Country they should fight for, as was very proper to engage them in his Designs.

§. 31. The *Expedition* was universally approv'd. They sail'd to *Rhegium*, took *Anaxilas* and his Forces on Board, and landed them in *Sicily*, where he fought the *Zancleai* by Land, while the *Messenians* engag'd their Fleet. The *Zancleans* were worsted in both the Battles, and were immediately besieg'd in their City both by Sea and Land. After a short Siege, a great Part of their Walls being batter'd down, they fled to the Temples and Altars, and sat as Suppliants there. *Anaxilas* was for putting all those to the Sword, and selling the rest, with their Wives and Children; but the *Messenian* Generals oppos'd his Barbarity. They promis'd a complete Pardon to all, they enter'd into a Treaty with them, and permitted all that pleas'd to remain in the City under their Government. They alter'd the Name of the City, and call'd it *Messene*, in Remembrance of their own Country.

§. 32. ⁱ *Aristomenes*, after the Departure of his Countrymen, married his Sister, and two of his Daughters, that were grown up, to the most eminent Men of the Country he remain'd in. The Gods provided an Husband for the third. *Demagetus* King of *Falysus*, a City in *Rhodes*, consulted in Person the Oracle of *Delphi*, about the Choice of a Wife. The Priests order'd him to marry the Daughter of the most valiant Man of Greece. *Aristomenes* was at that Time

ⁱ Paus. Mess. c. 24.

at *Delphi*, about his own private Affairs; and the *Rhodian* Prince having heard of his Character, was easily satisfied he had no Occasion to seek any farther. He ask'd his Daughter of him, and upon his Consent took her and his Father-in-Law with him to *Rhodes*. *Aristomenes* could not rest long there, and he was just preparing for a Voyage to *Sardis*, the Capital of *Lydia*, which was at that time govern'd by *Ardys*, the Son of *Gyges*; he intended from thence to have travell'd to *Ecbatana*, to the Court of *Phraortes* King of *Media*; but his Sicknefs and Death, which immediately follow'd, put a Stop to all his Designs. His Son-in Law erected a fine Monument for him, and the *Rhodians* join'd with him in paying the Honours due to his Merit.

§. 33. This seems to be the most probable Account of the Death of *Aristomenes*; but there is another which we find in several ^k Authors, that is much more common. We are told, that after having several times escap'd the *Lacedemonians* Hands miraculously, he was at last taken by them and put to Death; that he was then cut open, and his Heart found all over hairy. Tho' we can't give an Account of the first Authors of this Story, we have a great deal of Reason to disbelieve it. Those Writers that have been

^k Plin. l. 11. c. 70. says they cut him open alive. Val. Max. l. 1. c. 8. Steph. de Urb. V. *Ardania*.

most accurate in their Relations of the *Messenian Wars*, and Life of *Aristomenes*, make no mention of it: Those that do, are of a much inferior Reputation, they commit intolerable Errors in what they say, and seem to have been moved to relate it by the Strangeness of it, without giving themselves any Pains to examine into its Truth.
^m The quoting of the Authority of some Writers for Proof of the Story, in whose Works we have very good Assurance it was never told, would make us even apt to suspect, that some of those in whom we find it were sensible themselves they were relating a Fable.

§. 34. *Aristomenes* was a Man of the greatest personal Valour, of a Body and Mind well-match'd, fit to contrive and execute the vastest Enterprises, and bear the greatest Fatigues. He was bold and daring, perhaps to a Fault; but the prodigious Inequality of the War that he was engag'd in, made the boldest of Attempts excusable. This must defend his exposing so much and so often, a Life, on which so much depended. This alone must be the Apology for the Meanness of his making War with Women, and plundering the Country, which he was reduced to do for several Years. He does

^m Steph. quotes Herodotus, who never names *Aristomenes*, and Rhianus, whom Pausanias expressly follows, but without hinting at this Story. *Aristomenes* was the Hero of Rhianus's Poem, and 'tis highly incredible he should bring him to such a wretched End.

not seem to have been very religious ; and tho' we should free him from any Concern in the assuming the Shapes of *Castor* and *Pollux* ; his attacking Priestesses and Matrons, engag'd in the Service of the Deities, has something of an Air of Impiety. His generous Love for *Messenia* and Liberty, which was the constant Motive of his Actions, and which never abandon'd him to his last Moments, should cover his Failings ; and upon the whole, if the Pictures we have of him, and the Account of his Actions, are not extremely flatter'd, we may say, that if there were many of the antient Heroes more successful in their Wars, there were few that deserv'd Success more ; if others have attempted the Deliverance of their Countries with better Fortune, hardly any struggled through so many Difficulties, or sunk more greatly.

§. 35. ^a His Death secur'd the *Lacedemonian's* Conquest. They possess the Country, and treated the few wretched Inhabitants that remain'd in it as publick Slaves, with the utmost Rigour, for almost three Ages. *Epaminondas*, who inherited the Hatred of *Aristomenes* to the *Spartans*, with equal Valour, and superior Success, after having defeated them at *Leuctra*, resolv'd to resettle the *Messenians* in their Country, and free them from their Slavery. He sent Messengers to recall the Exiles from all Parts, even from

^a Pauf. Mess. c. 25, 26, 27. Diod. Sic. l. 15.

the Defarts of *Libya*. He built a City for them, which he call'd *Messene*, and fix'd them there with happy Auguries. The sacred Pledges which *Aristomenes* had hid, were recover'd, and plac'd in the Temples. 'Tis said *Epaminondas* had the Place of their Concealment discover'd to him in a Dream. ° *Aristomenes*'s Bones were by an Order of the Oracle return'd to his Country, and bury'd in the new City. The *Messenians* sacrificed a Bull to him. They tie the Bull to a Pillar near his Monument; if he struggles so as to move the Pillar, the Omen is reckon'd favourable; if the Pillar remains unmov'd, 'tis look'd upon to be a Sign of some approaching Calamity.

§. 36. P After this the *Messenians* lived quietly in their Country. They repell'd the frequent Attacks of the *Spartans* with great Success; they escap'd the common Ruin at the Battle of *Cheronea*; they join'd themselves to the Republick of the *Achæans*, and were freed by them from the Tyranny of *Nabis* the *Spartan*, who had surpris'd *Messene* it self; they had a little after a very unhappy Quarrel with the *Achæans*; they took *Philopæmen*, their Enemies General, Prisoner, and put him to Death; the Authors of that Action being punish'd, they return'd to the Confederacy of the *Achæans*, and soon after fell with them, and all *Greece*, under the Power of the *Romans*.

° Paus. Meff. c. 32.
Philopæ.

P Paus. Meff. c. 28, 29. Plut. in

THE
L I F E
O F
T A R Q U I N the Elder.

§. 1. **T**HE History of *Tarquin* the Elder is a remarkable Instance of the Power commonly ascrib'd to Fortune over human Affairs, which she often delights to shew, in bringing about Events by such Methods as appear the most unlikely to produce them. The Banishment of this Prince's Father from a City, where he was of the highest Rank; his own Disgrace in his native Country; his Exclusion from the meanest Employments at home; these were the Steps that led *Tarquin* to a Crown; and all his Greatness and Prudence could not preserve him from an End as unforeseen and strange as his Advancement.

§. 2. ^a The *Bacchiadae*, from whom this King was descended, were for several Ages the Royal Family of *Corinth*. They grew at last so numerous and so powerful, as to be able, upon the

^a Herod. l. 5. Paus. Cor.

Death of one of their Princes, to turn the Monarchy into a sort of Aristocracy. As they were above two hundred, they kept all the Government among themselves, and chose one supreme Magistrate out of their Number every Year; they took particular Care never to marry but into one another's Families; and having secur'd^b themselves (as they thought) a perpetual Tyranny, they sunk into an Ease and Luxury, which made way for their Ruin. One of the *Bacchiadae* having a Daughter that was very deformed, married her to a meaner *Corinthian* of another Family. *Cypselus* was born of that Marriage, and being strangely preserv'd in his Infancy, from the Attempts his Mother's Relations made on his Life; when he grew up, he resolv'd on Revenge, and completed it so far, as to make himself Master of *Corinth*. He was one of the best Tyrants of Antiquity, and govern'd his People with such a Mildness, that he could, after some time, venture to lay aside his Guards, and still retain'd his Government.

§. 3. Yet, in the Beginning of it, he was oblig'd to act with great Severity against the *Bacchiadae*: He could expect neither Ease nor Safety, till he had rooted them out of the City, which he did effectually, by the Death of some, and the Banishment of others, leaving none in *Corinth*, but such as he found in a contemptible

^b Æli. V. Hist. l. i. c. 19.

Poverty, or reduc'd to it. ^c *Demaratus* was of the Number of the Exiles. He was a great Merchant, and having traded principally upon the Coasts of *Tuscany*, he chose that Country for his Retreat. As his Riches were very considerable, he carry'd ^d thither a large Number of Servants and Dependants, and took with him several *Grecian* Artificers, who brought into *Etruria*, and from thence spread over *Italy*, some of their Country's Arts that were but imperfectly known there before.

§. 4. *Tarquinii*, one of the principal Cities of those Parts, was the Place *Demaratus* settled in, and in a little time he married there very advantageously. He had two Sons by his Marriage, to whom he gave *Etrurian* Names, *Aruns*, and *Lucumo*. The Eldest lived to be married, and dying soon after, in the Flower of his Age, left his Wife with Child. The old Man's Concern for the Death of his Son, hasten'd his own. He did not survive long enough to know his Daughter-in-Law's Condition, and left *Lucumo* the sole Heir of his large Estate. ^e The posthumous Son of *Aruns* was born unprovided for, and call'd *Egerius*, a Name denoting the Meanness of his Circumstances.

§. 5. *Lucumo* coming so unexpectedly to so great a Fortune, was willing to make a Figure

^c Dion. l. 3. p. 137. Liv. l. 1. c. 34.

^d Strab. l. 5. p. 152.

^e Dion. l. 3. p. 139.

answerable to it. He had a very good Education. His Father had taken Care to give his Children all the Learning of his present Country, and of that he was banish'd from. *Lucumo* thought himself well qualified for a Share in publick Affairs; and he certainly was so. But he met with a very unworthy Treatment from his Countrymen. They were so wretched Politicians, as not to endure the Merit of one they look'd upon as a Foreigner. They affected an Ignorance or Contempt of his excellent Qualities; and acted towards one that could claim a Place among the first of their City, as if he was the last of it. *Lucumo* bore this Usage very impatiently, and his Wife confirm'd him in his Resentments.

§. 6. [†] *Tanaquil* was born of the noblest Family in *Tarquinii*; but her Mind was far above her Birth and her Sex. Pride and Ambition were her distinguishing Characters; but they were accompanied with a Prudence altogether manly, and fit to secure her the Fortune to which she aspir'd. Such a Woman could not but think it intolerable, that her Marriage, from which she reasonably expected a raising of her Condition, should sink her beneath the State she was born to. She saw her Husband's Merit would be only an Hindrance to his Preferment, and could not bear such a Sight any longer. Let us leave

[†] Liv. l. i. c. 34.

(she would often say to him) this ungrateful City; let us fly from a Place unworthy of you: Since your Virtues are so ill rewarded here, I renounce the natural Affection I bore to the Place of my Birth. I will accompany you in your generous Exile, and shall be abundantly rewarded for the poor Sacrifices I make you, by sharing in the Honours you cannot fail of attaining. *Rome* is a Place that will do you Justice. That flourishing City knows its Interest too well not to encourage Desert, where-ever it finds it. The *Romans* are proud of heaping their Honours on illustrious Strangers. Their Armies, their Senate, their Throne it self, is open to them. *Numa*, whose Memory is revered there beyond that of their other Princes, was intirely a Stranger, and the present King is at most but half a *Roman*.

§. 7. & *Lucumo* heard her with Pleasure; and as his Engagements in *Tarquinii* were much less than hers, it was not long before he left it. Besides his Wife, he took some Friends with him, several Attendants, and all his Effects, and went directly to *Rome*. As he was passing *Janiculum* in a Chariot, an Eagle descending from the Sky, took off his Hat, and flew out of Sight with it; then re-appearing on a sudden, replac'd it on his Head. *Tanaquil* embracing her Husband, assur'd him of the Kingdom of the City they were en-

§ Dion. Hal. Liv.

tring;

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tring; if there was any Certainty in the Rules of Augury she had learnt in her Country, she could not be mistaken; he should make it his Business to become worthy of the Crown Fate design'd him, and take such Care to gain the Esteem of his new Fellow-Citizens, that they might execute the Orders of Destiny in his Favour with Pleasure. Her Husband seem'd to believe her. He stopp'd at the Gate to thank the Gods for their gracious Omens, and enter'd *Rome* with a Joy, that bore some Proportion to the Greatness of his Expectations.

§. 8. *Ancus Martius* was at that time King of *Rome*. He was Grandson to *Numa*, and aspir'd after his Character, which indeed his own very much resembled. He was religious like him, and renew'd the Practice of his Ceremonies which had been much neglected in the preceding Reign. He had the same Love for Peace too, and gave his Subjects Reasons to hope for all the Blessings which had made the Memory of his Grandfather so belov'd. The neighbouring Cities prevented those Hopes, and found Pretences for entering upon Wars, in which they promised themselves Success from the unwarlike Temper of the Prince they engag'd against. They were however deceiv'd. *Ancus*, though he lov'd Peace, was not incapable of managing War; he had brave Soldiers, flush'd with constant Successes, and completely disciplin'd by his Predecessor

decessor. He defended the *Roman* Territories very well; he acted sometimes offensively with good Fortune; and his whole Reign, though disturb'd, was not unhappy; and though he was not able, as he desir'd, to bless his Citizens with Peace, he had no such Misfortunes as might make them impatient under the Want of it.

§. 9. To this Prince *Lucumo* was introduc'd; he gave him an Account of his Descent and Fortunes, and desired to be admitted a Citizen of *Rome*. He had brought a large Estate with him; larger, he thought himself, than was fit for a Subject, and was ready to give up a great Part of it to the Publick. Such a Complement could not fail of being very agreeable. The King gave him and his Companions a kind Reception, permitted him to choose what Part of the City he pleas'd to build and settle in, and allotted him a large Portion out of the publick Lands. *Lucumo*, to accommodate himself to the *Roman* Manners, chang'd his Name into *Lucius*, and added from the Town, he was born in, the Name of *Tarquin*, by which he was afterwards constantly call'd. Future Ages, to distinguish him from his Grandson, gave him the Title of *Priscus*, or the Elder. We have sufficient Authority to make it probable, that his Wife chang'd her Name to *Caia Cæcilia*. The Fact however is controverted, and the Historians chose to call her *Tanaquil*.

§. 10. 'Tis

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§. 10. 'Tis generally supposed that *Tarquin* came to *Rome* about the 8th Year of *Ancus's* Reign, tho' some are of Opinion 'twas sooner. We find him immediately Governor of some *Roman* Garrisons, bordering to the Territories of the *Latines*. The *Romans* were then engag'd in a War with that People, and *Tarquin* was employ'd in harassing all the Enemies Country with continual Excursions. He took Care at the same time to prevent the *Latines* from doing any considerable Mischief. He got such Reputation by these Actions, that the next Year he was made General of the *Roman* Cavalry in a War against the *Sabines*.

§. 11. The Enemy had sent the greatest Part of their Army to ravage the Country, and had left their Camp but weakly guarded. The King being inform'd of their Condition, order'd *Tarquin* with all his Horse, to go in Search of the Troops employ'd in plundering, while himself at the Head of his Foot attack'd the Camp, which he forc'd without much Difficulty. The *Sabines* at *Tarquin's* Approach, left their Booty, and retreated in good Order to their Camp. Finding that in the Enemies Hands, they fled towards the Mountains and the Woods. But *Tarquin* intercepting some, and pursuing the rest with his Light-Horse, let hardly any of them escape. This Success reduc'd the Enemy to sue for a Peace, which was easily granted them. We have

no other Particulars of *Tarquin's* Actions in War, and are only told in general, that he distinguish'd himself on every Opportunity.

§. 12. The Historians delight to dwell more upon his Conduct in the City. He soon gain'd a great Share in the King's Friendship; he was made a Patrician, a Senator, and at last First Minister by him. Yet all his Prince's Love to him could not be greater than that of his Fellow-Citizens. No one indeed ever took more Care to oblige. He gave out of his Estate with an unbounded Liberality, whenever the publick Affairs, or the Exigencies of private Persons, call'd for an Exercise of that Virtue. He endeavour'd to prevent the Occasions of those he serv'd; he was studious in seeking Objects for his Benefits, and conferr'd them in a manner, that added to the Obligation. He took the greatest Care to avoid any Appearances of Pride; still more modest as he grew more advanc'd, he appear'd the King's Favourite only by promoting more the publick Advantage. He gain'd the Noblemen and Senators by his Civilities and Respect; the meaner People by real Favours, by the most familiar Carriage, and Promises, which he took Care to perform. 'Twas no wonder then, that upon the Death of *Ancus*, who left only two young Sons, he was readily chosen King with the Applause of the whole City.

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§. 13. I am not ignorant that the *Roman* Historian relates the Method by which *Tarquin* attain'd the Crown after a manner very injurious to his Memory. He says *Ancus* left *Tarquin* Guardian to his young Children; that he abus'd the Power he had over them, to send them out of the Way, under the Pretence of hunting, about the time that the Assemblies were to be held for the Choice of a King; that then he made a Speech to the People, in which he begg'd the Crown in a very insinuating Manner, and was readily elected. The Silence of *Dionysius* the *Halicarnassæan*, a most diligent Historian, is of great Weight with me against this Story, which besides is not probable in it self. 'Tis to do Injury to the Wisdom of *Tarquin*, and of the *Romans*, to suppose, that he could fear the Competition of two Boys, or they could think of electing them. A Reputation too well establish'd, a Virtue so long experienc'd, as that of *Tarquin's*, needed no mean Artifices to gain a Throne.

§. 14. The first Action of his Reign was very politick and just at the same time. The City had increas'd under every Prince, but the Number of the Senators was still the same, as in the Reign of *Romulus*. 'Twas unreasonable that there should not be some Alteration made in the Senate in Proportion to the Number of the Citizens; and that a Constitution made in the first Beginnings of a weak and small City, should exclude

exclude so many Men of Merit from having Part in the Honours they had contributed to increase. This was the publick Reason for the King's chusing one hundred Senators out of such of the People, as had signaliz'd themselves by their Valour in War, or Prudence in Peace; but he serv'd his own private Interests in this Promotion. The Senate was enlarg'd one third by it, and the King's Power as much increas'd, as those, who had such personal Obligations to him, would not probably oppose his Measures. We don't find that he attempted to use his Authority to engage his Subjects in any unjust Designs. His Choice of the new Senators was commended, and they were distinguish'd from the others by the Name of *Patres Minorum Gentium*.

§. 15. One of the next Actions of his Reign was an Act of popular Devotion. The Vestal Virgins, for whom the *Romans* had the utmost Veneration, were too much fatigu'd with the publick Ceremonies and Sacrifices they were engag'd in. To make their Burthen easier, the King added two more to the four *Numa* had instituted. That Number was found sufficient, and never increas'd. He had afterwards the Misfortune to be obliged to punish one of them. *Pinaria*, the Daughter of *Marcus*, was, in his Time, found guilty of Unchastity, and buried alive. That Punishment, and all the Formalities of it, are said to be this Prince's Invention.

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Some Historians tell us, that it was reveal'd to him in his Sleep, and 'tis not unlikely he might be willing to have it believ'd so.

§. 16. Presently after this he was oblig'd to enter into a War with the *Apiolani*. *Apioli* was a considerable City of the *Latines*, whose Inhabitants, according to a Way of Thinking, that seems to have been pretty common in these Times, held themselves engag'd by the Treaties they had made with the *Romans*, only as long as the Prince with whom they had made them was alive. Accordingly, upon the Death of *Ancus*, they ravag'd the *Roman* Territories, and carried off a great Booty. As several other Cities seem'd inclin'd to imitate the Conduct of this, *Tarquin* resolv'd to chastise this Insolence pretty severely. He rais'd an Army, and enter'd their Country, which he ravag'd in his Turn. The *Apiolani* at last having receiv'd some auxiliary Forces from other *Latine* Cities, resolv'd to hazard an Engagement: They were presently defeated, and having no better Success in a second Battle, they were oblig'd to retire into their City, where *Tarquin* immediately besieged them. He carried on the Siege with uncommon Briskness; and as his Forces were much more numerous than those in the Town, he made continual Attacks, and by changing his own Troops, give some of them Rest, while all the Besieged were engag'd in their Defence, with-

out having Leisure to relieve one another. The Town was taken by Storm, and most of the Inhabitants perish'd in Arms. Those few that threw down their Arms had their Lives spar'd; but were all, with the Women and Children, carried to *Rome*, and either kept there as Slaves, or sold as such. The City, after having been plunder'd, was reduc'd to Ashes, and the Walls of it raz'd to the Foundations. *Tarquin* thought he acted against these People (as he afterwards did in a parallel Case against those of *Corniculum*) in the Character of a Judge, executing a Sentence against obstinate Rebels and Traitors, rather than as a Prince engag'd in a War with a fair and honourable Enemy; and how severe soever his Treatment of them may be thought, it can hardly be call'd unjust. He shew'd by his different Carriage to the *Crustumerini*, and others, whose Crime was the same, but whose Submission prevented him, that Cruelty had no Part in his exemplary Justice.

§. 17. *Crustumerium* was originally a Colony of the *Latines*, but had been subject to the *Romans* ever since the Reign of *Romulus*. Upon *Tarquin's* coming to the Crown, they ventur'd to revolt in Expectation of being assisted by the *Latines*. The King drew out an Army against them, and none of the *Latine* Cities offering to give them any Succour, they were forced to throw themselves on his Mercy. When his Ar-

my approach'd their Town, they open'd their Gates, and sent their most venerable Citizens to surrender up the City to him, and implore his Clemency. The King treated them more mildly than they had dar'd to hope; he put none of them to Death, and contented himself with fining some that were more notoriously guilty, and the first Authors of the Rebellion. The rest of the Citizens he left in their former Condition, depriv'd them of none of their Privileges, and only left a *Roman* Garrison in the Town to secure a Fidelity which he found was not to be depended on. The *Nomentani* were in the same Case. They had even taken up Arms, and already robb'd and plunder'd the *Roman* Territories, but imitating the Submission of those of *Crustumium*, they receiv'd the same Favour.

§. 18. *Tarquin* march'd next against *Collatia*. The Inhabitants of that City presum'd so far on their own Strength, as to draw out their Forces to meet him. Without coming to a general Engagement, they were defeated in several Skirmishes, convinc'd of their Weakness, and forc'd to shut themselves up in their Town. They sent for Troops from the *Latine* Cities; but as those Succours delay'd, and the King prest the Siege, they were obliged to surrender themselves without any Terms. The *Roman* Historian gives us the Form made use of on that Occasion. The *Collatians* profess they give up their City,
Lands,

Lands, Waters, Temples, Goods, and in general all Things divine and human, to the *Roman* King and People. *Tarquin* disarm'd all the Inhabitants, fin'd them a little severely, and plac'd a *Roman* Garrison there under the Command of his Nephew *Egerius*, to whom he gave the Sovereignty of that City for his Life, instead of the Inheritance the unhappy Circumstances of his Birth had depriv'd him of. He took upon him the Sirname of *Collatinus*, which his Posterity afterwards continued to bear.

§. 19. *Corniculum*, another City of the *Latines*, was the next Place the King attack'd. He first ravag'd their Territories, and finding no Forces came out of the Town to defend them, he march'd against it. He sent first to offer his Friendship to the Inhabitants upon reasonable Terms. They seem'd to interpret those Offers as proceeding from Weakness. Their City was well fortified; they were in a good Condition for a Siege, and resolv'd to venture one in Expectation of the Assistance which they promis'd themselves from several Parts. The King immediately surrounded the City, but met with a very vigorous Resistance. The frequent Sallies of the Besieg'd, though successful, tir'd them at last. A great Party of the Citizens declared themselves for a Surrender, and though the contrary Opinion prevail'd, yet these Dissentions made it more easy for *Tarquin* to finish the Siege.

He took the Town by Storm; the Conquest was very bloody, and all the most eminent Persons of *Corniculum* were slain in the Action. The City was plunder'd and burnt, and the few remaining Men, who were of the meanest Condition, were, with the Women and Children, sold for Slaves.

§. 20. The *Latines* thought themselves oblig'd by these Successes, to unite and raise all the Forces they could against so dangerous a Neighbour. They had soon a large Army, with which they plunder'd the Territories of *Rome*, and then retir'd with a considerable Booty into a strong Fortress they had built for their Security. *Tarquin* finding it impossible for him to bring them to a Battle, was forc'd to follow their Example. His ravaging their Territories had the Effect he had expected. The *Latines* shunn'd an Engagement no longer. The Armies met near *Fidenæ*, and the *Romans* with their usual Success broke the Enemy. The Night hinder'd them from completing the Victory, and gave the *Latines* an Opportunity of abandoning their Camp, and retiring to their several Cities.

§. 21. The King sent immediately to all of them separately, to offer a Peace, and admit them to a reasonable Composition. His Messengers were differently receiv'd. Some who consider'd the Treatment those Cities had met with, who resisted to the last, and the favourable Usage of those

those who made early Submissions, thought it dangerous to provoke the Conqueror. The *Fidenates* were the first that surrender'd themselves; the *Camarini* and several other lesser Cities and Fortresses follow'd their Example. The remaining Towns of the *Latines* were inexpressibly alarm'd at this Desertion of the common Cause; and to prevent the spreading of the Contagion, hastily call'd an Assembly of the Nation at *Ferentinum*. 'Twas agreed upon there, that every City should raise all the Forces they could against *Rome*, and Embassies be sent to beg the Assistance of the neighbouring People, and particularly of the *Etrurians* and the *Sabines*. These last promised to make a Diversion in their Favour, by entring and plundering the *Roman* Territories on their Side, as soon as they should be inform'd that the *Latines* had made an Invasion on their Part. The *Etrurians* were divided. Most of them were of Opinion not to interest themselves in the Success of the War. Only five of their Cities sent Troops to the Succour of the *Latines*.

§. 22. With these Forces, and all they could raise themselves, they enter'd the *Roman* Country, and the *Sabines* quickly after ravaged their Side of it. *Tarquin* was unwilling to divide his Forces; he left the *Sabines* to do all the Mischief they could, while he march'd at the Head of a brave and numerous Army against the *Latines*

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tines and *Etrurians*. When the Armies were within Sight of each other, they shew'd no great Eagerness for a general Engagement. They only sent out the Light-Horse on each Side, who had sometimes vigorous Combats : Those Actions at last brought on a general one. The Parties on both Sides being pretty strong, and warmly engag'd, so many Forces came from each Camp to assist them, that at last not only all the Horse, but the greatest Part of the Foot were concern'd. The Battle was warmly disputed, and ended only by the Night. But it appear'd the next Day the *Romans* had the Advantage, when the King drawing out all his Forces, offer'd a second Battle. The *Latines* not stirring from their Intrenchments, he buried his Dead honourably, and having spoil'd those of the Enemy, who beheld him without offering the least Opposition, he return'd to his Camp.

§. 23. A few Days after the *Latines* receiv'd a Reinforcement from the *Etrurians*, and ventur'd a second Battle. 'Twas a great deal more bloody than the former, and at first disadvantageous to the *Romans*. Their left Wing was just broke by the Enemy, when *Tarquin*, who was fighting successfully in the Right, being inform'd of the Disorder of his Troops, drew off his best Horse to their Assistance. Attacking the victorious Enemy on their Side, he soon stopp'd them, gave his Troops Opportunity to rally and
disorder

disorder their Enemies in their Turn. Leaving the Body of his Army to complete the Victory, the King with his Horse rode full Speed to the Enemies Camp. He made himself Master of it with the greatest Ease. The Slaughter after this was terrible, and the Enemy having no Place to retreat to, were almost all kill'd upon the Spot, or made Prisoners.

§. 24. After a Conquest, the Glory of which was so very much his own, *Tarquin* gave his Soldiers the Plunder of the Camp, and sold the Captives. He march'd his victorious Army against the *Latine* Cities, to besiege those that would yet make any Resistance; but they unanimously sued for a Peace, and offer'd to surrender themselves upon the King's own Terms. His Moderation was admirable in these Circumstances. He put no one to Death; neither banish'd any, nor depriv'd them of their Estate. He left them the intire Disposal of their Fruits and Corn; and permitted every City to be govern'd by its own Laws. He only order'd them to give up all Deserters, and all their Prisoners without Ransom, to restore the Slaves they had seiz'd to their former Masters, to return what Goods they had plunder'd from the *Romans*, and to make a reasonable Satisfaction for such as they had spent or damag'd. For the future they were to own the *Romans* for superior Allies, for whose Commands they ought to have a just Deference, and never
enter

enter into any Measures opposite to their Interest.

§. 25. The *Latine* War being so happily and gloriously concluded, *Tarquin* return'd to *Rome* in Triumph. He made several Additions to the Ornaments and Pomp of that Solemnity. We are told particularly, that he triumph'd in a golden Tunick; and by Authors of more doubtful Credit, that he did it in a golden Chariot. His Improvements of the Magnificence of a Triumph were so great, that he has been call'd by some Writers the first Author of it. He celebrated Sports too with a Pomp and Expence that had been till then unknown in *Rome*. The vast Spoils he had gain'd from the Enemy, were more than sufficient for all his Undertakings. On this Occasion he built the *Circus Maximus* between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Mountains. Before this Time all the Spectators of such Solemnities us'd to stand; but the King now made Seats cover'd, and divided them into thirty Parts for every *Curia*. When *Dionysius* the *Halicarnassian* saw this *Circus*, it was three *Stadia* and an half long, and four *Plethra* broad, and held 150000 People without any Croud. But it was not so large in *Tarquin's* Time, having been considerably adorn'd and increased since. The Sports with which the Prince entertain'd his People, were chiefly Horse-Races and Wrestlers fetch'd from *Etruria*. From this Time such
Sports

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Sports as these were observ'd annually, and called the *Roman* or the *Greater Games*.

§. 26. *Tarquin* adorn'd the *Forum* at the same time, building several Shops, and other Edifices about it; and what was of more Importance than all the rest, he set about making a Wall round the City. How much soever of a Fable there may be in the Story of *Remus's* leaping over the Walls of *Rome* when they were first built; 'tis certain, they were extremely slight. When a new Hill was added to the City, it was generally inclos'd with a Wall; but those Walls were wrought up very hastily; they were hardly strong enough to be any real Security, and so patch'd up as not to be at all ornamental. The King then thought he could not employ his People better than in surrounding the whole City with a new Wall built of large square Stones: But he had but just begun the Work, when he was obliged to interrupt it by an Invasion from the *Sabines*.

§. 27. That Nation being sensible how much they had injur'd the *Romans*, easily believ'd that *Tarquin* only delay'd his Vengeance, that he might make it more sure. They resolv'd therefore to prevent him, and pass the River *Anien*, before the *Romans* had an Army in the Field to oppose them. However, the King was soon ready for the Enemy. The Armies met upon the Frontiers. The Battle was very bloody, and
ended

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ended only by the Night. The following Days neither the *Romans* nor *Sabines* stir'd from their Camps. After they had watched one another for some Time, they both retired, as it were by Consent, to raise greater Forces.

§. 28. The next Spring, accordingly both Nations took the Field with Armies much larger than the Year before. The *Sabines*, who had received a large Body of Troops from the *Etrurians*, were again the earliest: They encamp'd near *Fidenæ*, where the *Anien* and *Tiber* met in two Camps, which they join'd by a wooden Bridge, over the River that ran between them. *Tarquin* encamp'd near the River *Anien*, above them. He seiz'd an Eminence, where the Enemy could not easily attack him, and he delay'd the Fight himself, 'till he could secure Success, which he did by a Stratagem very remarkable in Antiquity. He fill'd several Boats with Pitch, Brimstone, dry'd Wood, and other combustible Matter, and about the Morning-Watch order'd them to be set on Fire, and sent down the River. The Wind was favourable to his Design, and the Bridge was immediately fired in several Places. While the *Sabines* were employ'd in fruitless Endeavours to save their Bridge, *Tarquin* attack'd the Camp which was on the same Side of the River with his Army. He met with very little Resistance, and was presently Master of the Camp. A large Detachment, which

which the King had sent cross the River the Night before, with Orders to lye in Ambush 'till they saw the Bridge on Fire, rose at the Signal and seiz'd the other Camp with equal Ease. Those that resisted were cut to pieces, or push'd into the River, where they perish'd. A great Number was burnt endeavouring to save the Bridge. The Number of Prisoners too was very great; and that the Victory might want nothing of its Glory, the Loss of the *Romans* was very inconsiderable.

§. 29. This important Victory is said to have been known at *Rome* by the Enemies Armour which floated down the River, before any Messengers could come to relate it. The King sent to the City, the Spoils he had taken in both the Camps. They were all heap'd up in one vast Pile, and burnt an Offering to *Vulcan*, to whom *Tarquin* had vow'd them, in Case his Design succeeded. While the Enemies Terror was yet fresh, the King ravag'd all their Country: The *Sabines* rais'd a fresh Army of raw Soldiers, and ventur'd another Engagement, with a Success that was natural to expect from the Inequality of their Forces. They were soon put to flight, and forc'd to beg a Truce, which was granted them for six Years.

§. 30. The King triumph'd for this Success; but he was not yet at Peace. The *Etrurians*, who had several Prisoners made in the Engagement,

ment, sent Embassadors to demand them to be restor'd. *Tarquin* saw no Reason for granting such a Favour to a Nation so much inclin'd to be his Enemies. Upon his Refusal, in a solemn Assembly of all the *Etrurian* Cities, the War with *Rome* was resolv'd to be carried on with all their Forces. Their Hatred was so hearty, that they declar'd, if any City should refuse its Assistance, it should be look'd upon as out of their Alliance. An Army was soon rais'd, and past the *Tiber*. They encamp'd near *Fidenæ*, and had in a little time that Town betray'd into their Hands, by the Divisions and Factions of its Inhabitants. They ravag'd the *Roman* Territories without Opposition, carried off several Prisoners, and a large Booty, and leaving a strong Garrison in *Fidenæ*, return'd home.

§. 31. *Tarquin* let the Enemy waste their first Rage; but the next Spring, very early, he put himself at the Head of a noble Army, compos'd of all the Forces he could raise in *Rome*, and all that his Confederates could spare him. He prevented the Enemies, who had not yet gather'd all their Forces, and being very strong, he ventur'd on a Separation of his Army, which had like to have been fatal to him. He commanded the *Romans* himself; the Auxiliary Troops he gave to his Nephew *Egerius*. He sent these last to block up *Fidenæ*. While they lay encamp'd before the Town, in a thoughtless Con-

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tempt of their Enemy, the Garrison, which had secretly got a Reinforcement from *Etruria*, attack'd the Camp on a sudden, and made themselves Masters of it with a vast Slaughter.

§. 32. The King, in the mean time, led his Forces into the Territories of the *Veientanes*, which he plunder'd so long, till he brought the *Etrurians* to their Assistance, and drew on a Battle, the Success of which was intirely to his Advantage. After this he had the Country open before him, the Inhabitants of *Veii* confining themselves within their Walls; he took a great Number of Prisoners, and a large Booty, and return'd home before the End of the Spring. That Country being very rich and fruitful, he resolv'd to provide his Army Sustenance out of it. He made three successive Inroads into it, and depriving the Natives of all manner of Corn, Wine, or any Fruit, for three Years together, he reduc'd them to a great Desolation. He treated after the same manner the Territories of *Cere*, one of the greatest, most populous and richest Cities in those Parts. He then march'd against *Fidenæ*, beat the Garrison that endeavour'd to prevent his besieging it, and took the Town by Storm. Some of the Citizens who had distinguish'd themselves in the Revolt, were beheaded, others less guilty fin'd or banish'd. The Estates of the Criminals were given to such of the old *Roman* Colony, as had preserv'd their Fidelity,

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lity, or distributed among the new Garrison he plac'd there.

§. 33. We have not many Particulars of a War so glorious to *Rome* and *Tarquin*. We know in general that it was extremely fatal to the *Etrurians*, and that after it had lasted nine Years, it was ended by the Battle at *Eretum*, in the Country of the *Sabines*. The *Etrurians* had march'd thither upon Assurances of being succour'd by that Nation, whose Truce with *Rome* was now expir'd. But the King attacking them before they had receiv'd any Succour, except a few hired Troops, gain'd an easy and a most intire Victory. Those that escap'd in the Fight being Strangers to the Country, and at a great Distance from home, were almost all either cut off, or made Prisoners. This vast Loss made the *Etrurians* resolve to beg Peace of the Conqueror. All their Cities deputed to *Rome* Men of the first Rank, with a full Commission of consenting in their Names to whatever Terms of Peace should be impos'd on them.

§. 34. *Tarquin* was by this time return'd to the City, which he enter'd in a Triumph decreed him, with the unanimous Applause of the Senate and People. He receiv'd the Deputies with a great deal of Humanity. He listen'd very patiently while they harangued upon the moderate Use of Victories, and their antient Confederacies with the *Romans*: But when they

had ended, he said, he had only one Question to ask them, Whether they came as from rival Cities, that insisted on a Peace, and to declare their Sovereignty and Independency; or from a conquer'd People, that would submit themselves to the Pleasure of their Conqueror? The Embassadors immediately crying out, they brought an absolute Submission; Hear then, *Etrurians*, says the King, the Peace I will impose. 'I will not put one *Etrurian* to Death, or so much as banish or fine any one. You shall govern your Cities by your own Laws unbri- dled by Garrisons, and without paying any Tribute. Only I insist on being own'd your Sovereign, and demand a Superiority, which my Arms can give me when I please, but which I had rather owe to your own Inclinations.'

§. 35. With this Message the Embassadors departed, and immediately return'd with the fullest Acknowledgments of the King's Sovereignty, not in Words only, but by surrendring up to him the Ensigns of Empire, which were used by their Kings; a Golden Crown, an Ivory Throne, a Scepter with an Eagle on its Head, and some rich Royal Garments, which were such as were worn by the Kings of *Persia* and *Lydia*. 'Tis generally believ'd that he receiv'd from them at the same time twelve Bundles of Rods, and as many Axes, one of which belong'd to the King or supreme Magistrate of every

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City, and which were given all to one General in any Expedition they undertook in common. But this Fact is not so certain as the rest. Some Authors tell us, *Romulus* had, at the Foundation of his City, borrow'd that Custom from the *Etrurians*. *Tarquin* did not make use of these Honours immediately, though they were very agreeable to his Temper. He first ask'd Leave of the Senate and People, and upon their Permission, the rest of his Life he wore his Crown and Garments, us'd his Scepter and his Throne, and had his Rods and Axes attending on him when he judg'd, and going before him when he travell'd. When the Royal Power was given to two Consuls, those for the Time being enjoy'd all the Marks of it, but the Crown and Garments, which were worn only in the Solemnity of a Triumph.

§. 36. The *Etrurian* War being finish'd thus happily, *Tarquin* engag'd in a new one with the *Sabines*, a rich and powerful Nation, famous for an hereditary Hatred to *Rome* ever since its Foundation. He was not without a Pretext for his acting against them. He demanded those *Sabines* should be deliver'd up to him who had engag'd the *Etrurians* to enter into their Territories, by Promises of assisting them against *Rome*. They refus'd to give up the most eminent of their Citizens, (for such they were who had given the *Tuscans* those Assurances) and began them-

themselves the War. They past the River *A-nien* without Opposition, and plunder'd the *Roman* Territories with too great Security. The King rais'd an Army of the Flower of the *Roman* Youth, and attack'd the *Ferragers*. He presently defeated them, retook their Booty, and pursu'd them into their Camp. He waited for some Reinforcements before he offer'd the Enemy Battle; when he receiv'd them, he drew out into the Field, and the *Sabines* readily engag'd him. The Action was vigorous, and the Success doubtful, till the *Sabines* saw a large Body advancing to attack them in their Rear. They were a chosen Troop of Foot and Horse, whom *Tarquin* had detach'd from his Army the Night before, and plac'd in Ambush, with Orders to appear behind the Enemy, when the Armies should be thoroughly engag'd. The *Sabines* stood amaz'd and confounded at this Sight. They could neither retreat, nor resist to any Purpose, but let themselves be cut to pieces, or taken Prisoners. A very inconsiderable Number escap'd into some neighbouring Cities.

§. 37. Yet they were only exasperated by this Victory over them. They had been conquer'd only by a Trick, and had no Opportunity of shewing a Valour which might have produc'd very different Effects. Full of these Views they rais'd an Army more numerous than their last, and chose a General of the greatest Reputation and Expe-

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rience. He did not deceive their Expectations. *Tarquin* was resolved to be earliest in his Turn, and past the *Anien* before the Army of his Enemies was in Order. Their General, who was too weak to hazard a Battle, took the Field however, and encamp'd within the Sight of the *Roman* Army, on a Hill, which was so difficult of Access, that he was pretty certain he could not be forc'd to a Fight. From this Camp he sent out Parties continually, who disturb'd the *Romans* in their foraging, and preserv'd the Country from their Inroads. There happen'd several slight Actions between these Parties and some of the *Romans*, but no general one, nor could *Tarquin* by any Art engage them in one. He was heartily vex'd at his Disappointment, and attempted to force the Camp; but being easily convinc'd how impracticable that was, he resolv'd to block it up. He stopp'd up all the Avenues to it, and soon reduced the *Sabines* to great Necessities. They took the Opportunity of a stormy Night to abandon their Camp. They got away indeed without much Loss, but were forc'd to leave behind them their Sick and Wounded, their Tents, and great Quantity of Arms. The *Romans* plunder'd the Camp, and carrying off the Tents and the Prisoners, return'd home.

§. 38. The War continued five Years. The Armies plundering each Country, met several times,

times, with various Success; but those Battles, in which the *Romans* had the Advantage, were more in Number, and more considerable. The last Year of the War the *Sabines* resolv'd to make one great Effort, arm'd all their Country that were able to bear Arms; and the *Romans* on their Side drew out all their Forces, and those of the *Etrurians*, and their other Allies and Subjects. The *Sabine* General divided his Army into two Parts, and *Tarquin* his into three. The King commanded the *Romans* himself; his Nephew *Aruns* led the *Etrurians*; and his Son-in-Law *Servius Tullius*, a Man of great Merit and Valour, the *Latines* and other Allies. The Action began early, and lasted a whole Day. At last the *Romans* conquer'd, made a vast Slaughter, took several Prisoners, and both the Camps. The Country now lay open for them to ravage. They spent all the Summer in that barbarous Work, and return'd home with very considerable Riches.

§. 39. *Tarquin* triumph'd a fourth Time upon this Occasion, and the next Spring rais'd a new Army, with which he intended to besiege some of the Towns of the *Sabines*, but was prevented by their Submission. Their Courage being intirely broken, they were sensible they must expect nothing but Ruin and Slavery from a successful War. They chose to relie on the Conqueror's experienc'd Mercy, and they were not

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disappointed. They sent Deputies from every Town, to give themselves up into the King's Hands, and to beg he would admit them to a Peace upon moderate Conditions. *Tarquin* receiv'd the Embassadors favourably, allow'd them the same Terms as he had formerly granted to the *Etrurians*, and releas'd all their Captives without Ransom.

§. 40. Having finish'd his Wars, *Tarquin* return'd to his Works of Peace, and exercis'd his People as laboriously in them as he had done in his Wars. He first finish'd his Wall, and then began an immense Work in those common Sewers, design'd for the draining the lower Part of the City, by carrying the Filth into the *Tiber*, which were in the Times when *Rome* was greatest, one of the noblest Instances of its Magnificence. One would have thought (as the *Roman* Historian agreeably imagines) that this Prince already foresaw his City was to be Mistress of the World, and adorn'd it with that View. Vast Mountains were dug through, and Rivers turn'd out of their Channels for this extravagant Work, which was so large, as to be navigable almost throughout. The vast Quantities of Rubbish and Filth, Falls of Houses, Fires and Earthquakes had done these Sewers no considerable Injury in seven hundred Years. When *Agrippa* was *Ædile*, they were cleans'd, seven new Rivers being forc'd into them; and the

the Expence of that Work alone amounted to a thousand Talents. 'Tis necessary then that the Labour in making them should have been prodigiously great; and we find it in several Authors, that those who were employ'd in it, were struck with such Horror at the Difficulty and Danger of the Enterprize, that great Numbers of them murder'd themselves, and there could be no Remedy found against the spreading of that Practice, but crucifying the dead Bodies. This however is suppos'd to have happen'd under the younger *Tarquin*, who continu'd the Works his Grandfather left unfinish'd; and is remarkable in History for having studied to waste out the People by the most servile Drudgeries.

§. 41. About the same time *Tarquin* engag'd in a Work of a more religious Nature, which was the building a Temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno* and *Minerva*, as he had oblig'd himself to do, by a Vow made in his last Battle with the *Sabines*. He advis'd with the *Augurs* about the most proper Place to build in. After having consulted their Rules, they agreed that the *Tarquin* Rock would be the fittest Place, and most agreeable to the Gods. There were two Objections against it. It was rough, steep, and almost inaccessible; and besides, it was already filled with little Chapels sacred to Deities, whom it would be an Affront and Sacrilege to disturb. This last Objection was pretty easily answer'd. The *Augurs*

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gurs in their Way civilly desir'd the Gods to remove, and the Gods very graciously consented to their Petitions. Only it seems the Gods *Terminus* and *Youth* were deaf to all their Addresses, and obstinately refus'd to stir. This was reckon'd a good Omen, and interpreted that the City should be ever young and flourishing, and never have its Boundaries remov'd. The other Difficulty was of more Importance. Yet the King conquer'd this too. With vast Labour he made the Ascent easier, and of a rough and uneven Ground; by raising up some Places, and leveling others, he finish'd the *Area* for the building a very large Temple, but he could not lay the Foundation of it. He surviv'd the *Sabine War* but four Years, which were all consum'd in these Preparations.

§. 42. The *Augur* that was chiefly employ'd in directing the religious Part of this Design, was *Attius Nevius*. He was born in *Etruria*, of poor Parents; and being sent by his Father to learn the Trade of Foretelling, he succeeded admirably, and soon excell'd all his Colleagues. He settled in *Rome*; and though he was not a Member of the College of the *Roman Augurs*, his Reputation was so great, that he was continually consulted, not only by the People, but by the *Augurs* themselves. This Success gave him the Insolence to oppose the King himself, in a very innocent Undertaking. *Tar-*
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quin being oblig'd in the *Sabine* War to increase his Horse, intended to add three new Centuries to those *Romulus* had already establish'd, and impose his own Name, and those of two Friends, on his additional Troops. *Attius* said, those Names that *Romulus* had given his Centuries, and the Number of those Centuries having been confirm'd by Auguries, no Addition or Alteration in them ought to be admitted of without the Consent of the Birds.

§. 43. 'Tis a celebrated Story in the *Roman* Annals, that the King, who, as will be easily suppos'd, was thoroughly vext at this impertinent Opposition, one Day as he was sitting on his Tribunal, before a great Multitude, call'd for *Nævius*. Well, Diviner, says he, let's have another Proof of thy Art: Go and consult the Birds, whether what I am thinking of may be done or no? The *Augur* goes, and in a little time brought him a full Approbation from his Birds. The King fell a laughing, and taking out of his Bosom a Whetstone and a Razor, I was thinking (says he) of cutting this Whetstone asunder with this Razor. Do your Birds now think this possible? The People laughing, the *Augur*, with a very compos'd Air, said only, King, what I said was true, and I'll submit to any Punishment if you can't do it. The King wondring at his Boldness, try'd; cut the Whetstone in two, and cut off a Piece of the Hand that held it,

§. 44. After

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§. 44. After so publick a Miracle, *Tarquin* was obliged to abandon his Design, and to incorporate his Horse into the old Bodies. He shew'd after this the greatest Respect for the *Augur*, and either erected himself, or suffer'd the People to erect his Statue in Brass in the *Forum*, about the Place where the Miracle was perform'd. The Statue remain'd there several Ages ; 'tis said the Razor was preserv'd too, but unhappily we have only an uncertain Tradition of that. The Reputation of the Act increas'd in *Rome* with that of its Professor. But in the Height of all his Glory, on a sudden he disappear'd, and his Body was never seen or heard of. There is nothing exceedingly strange in this. In Ages less renown'd for Miracles, Persons, who have had the Misfortune to displease Princes, have been liable to such Accidents. Even then, when Miracles were so common, there were Unbelievers, who sought after natural Causes of *Nevius's* Absence. The Envy of his Collegues was reasonably suspected, and the King himself, accus'd by his Enemies, had like to have serv'd for an Instance, how dangerous it is to be thought to have touch'd any Thing sacred.

§. 45. *Tarquin* was now in a very advanc'd Age, and by a Calamity common in it, had buried an only Son, a young Prince of great Merit, who had given extraordinary Proofs of early Valour, and by singling out and killing an

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Enemy, when he was but thirteen, had deserv'd to be rewarded by his Father with the *Pratexta* and *Bulla*, which were from thence the Garments of Boys. That Son indeed had left two Sons, but Infants; and as the King could have no reasonable Prospect of seeing them grown up, he thought of his Son-in-Law *Servius Tullius*, as a Successor, and used his Care and Assistance in the Government, which he could not now manage alone. The Sons of *Ancus Martius* were still living, and had entertain'd Hopes of succeeding *Tarquin*. They Thought they had, by the Disappearing of the *Augur*, an Opportunity of acting against both the King and *Servius*, and began to accuse the King of the Murther of *Nevius*. 'Twas plain, they said, that he had remov'd one, who was a constant Opposer of his arbitrary Proceedings; he had not so much as counterfeited any Concern at the Loss of the Publick in so great a Man, and had intirely neglected interposing his Authority to aid the Search after him. And yet he liv'd, he reign'd, he offer'd up to the Gods publick Sacrifices, with Hands polluted in the Blood of their Prophet. They went on, that as if the Indignity of having a City, founded by an Hero, a God, and govern'd by him but an hundred Years ago, now rul'd by such a King, was not enough; the *Romans*, after a Stranger, were next to have an unknown Slave for their Monarch. 'Twas plain the

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the King design'd to leave the Power to *Servius*, to whom already he had given every Thing but the Name.

§. 46. Such Discourses as these, at first artfully whisper'd abroad by the Adherents of the *Martii*, met with several Approvers, and they thought themselves strong enough to act openly, and say the same Things in the *Forum*. But whatever they said against *Tullius*, his Interest was too well establish'd. He had no need to defend himself, and he easily justified the good old King. He prov'd the Injustice and Falshood of their Aspersions beyond Contradiction; he mov'd the Pity and Indignation of the Multitude, and sent the Accusers out of the *Forum* full of Confusion. *Tarquin* was satisfied with their Disappointment, and retaining still a grateful Sense of *Ancus's* Benefits, he readily pardon'd his Sons; believ'd the Repentance they pretended real, and re-admitted them into his Friendship.

§. 47. The *Martii* continued three Years at Court, and having found the ill Success of open Designs, they resolv'd to act under-hand. They had some Debates, whether they should kill the King, or *Servius*; but they thought, if they left the King alive, his very Name would be sufficient to secure their Punishment, or at least he would certainly choose another Son-in-Law from out of the most considerable of the City, and make their Way to the Crown more difficult.

cult. If *Tarquin* was remov'd, *Servius*, a private Man, could never act against them with equal Authority. After having taken these Resolutions, they sent two Ruffians, disguis'd like Boors, with Reaphooks in their Hands, to the King's Palace, at Noon-day. When they were in the outer-Part of the Court, they began to quarrel with one another in rustick Terms: From rough Language they came to Blows, and the King's Servants coming out, brought them before him. They still continu'd their Dispute as loud as ever, and talking both together, and very senselessly, they mov'd the Laughter of all the Hearers. Being at last forc'd to Order by the Liçtors, one of them began a tedious Story, and while the King was patiently listening to it, the other struck his Hook into the King's Head, and left it in the Wound; the other presently gave him another Wound, and in the first Surprise, they both of them fled out of the Court.

§. 48. *Tanaquil*, with an admirable Presence of Mind, sent the Liçtors after the Murderers, order'd the Palace Gates to be shut, and carried the King into his Chamber, where he immediately expir'd, in the 38th Year of his Reign, and 80th of his Age. A Prince that seem'd born for Greatness, and had the Spirit of Royalty in a greater Degree than any of his Predecessors. He had a vigorous Constitution, and a Mind active in a very advanc'd Age. He was
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personally valiant, but more famous for his Stratagems, than his Victories obtain'd in the open Field. A compleat Master in the Art of War, he improv'd his Conquests to the best Advantage, and using Clemency and Rigour by Turns, was never mistaken in employing either. His Love of Power, and all the Pomp of it, though perhaps a little excessive, never made him attempt on his People's Liberties, and content to use gentle Methods, he submitted to them the Honours he desir'd; pretty sure of Success, but not too uneasy under a Disappointment. The Spirit of Politeness, Grandeur, and Magnificence, which he first introduc'd into *Rome*, and which gain'd him Reputation in After-ages, was reckon'd his only Blemish in that Age he lived in. Though by an Example uncommon, and little follow'd, the Works he engag'd his People in were not for himself, but for the publick Ornament and Advantage, they were however too large for his City and Inhabitants. They employ'd too many Hands in too hard Labour, and rais'd very great Murmurings. His Successor, the most popular Prince next to *Numa*, that fill'd the *Roman* Throne, prudently left them unfinish'd; and 'twas reckon'd none of the least Crimes of his Grandson's hated Reign, that he forc'd the People to return to their Drudgery.

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§. 49. *Tarquin* left two Grandsons by his deceas'd Son. The youngest was afterwards murder'd by his Brother and Wife. The Elder succeeded *Servius* by Murder and Usurpation, Crimes till then unheard of in *Rome*. Yet all that Prince's Villanies could not hinder *Tarquin's* Memory from being rever'd by the *Romans* in After-ages, when they knew they owed their Deliverer to him too. For besides a Daughter married to *Servius Tullius*, he had another, whom he gave to *Junius*, the Father of the great *Brutus*. The Obligations *Rome* had to him were enough to have secured *Tarquin's* Character, if he had had no other Merit but being his Grandfather.

§. 50. The Death of *Tarquin* was conceal'd for some time by *Tanaquil* and *Servius*. The Murderers had been seiz'd on, and being tortur'd, confest the *Martii* had set them on. After an exemplary Punishment of the Wretches, *Servius*, acting in the King's Name, cited the *Martii* to appear: Upon their Absence, he easily prevail'd to have them condemn'd to Banishment with their Adherents, confiscated their Estates, and well revenging his Father's Death, he deserv'd to succeed him. He buried him honourably, shew'd the most grateful Respect to his Memory, and gave his two Daughters, his only Children, in Marriage to the young *Tarquins*. Unhappy in the last Instance of his Piety! That Alliance lost him his Life, and *Rome* her Liberty.

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O F
L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

§. 1. **S**UCH Incidents, as are reckon'd the most agreeable Part of History, are not to be expected in the Lives of those great Men, who distinguish'd themselves by freeing their Country from Tyranny. Those Heroes generally struggled with Misfortunes all their Life-time; an hasty and violent Death often interrupted their Designs, and left but few Actions for an Historian to record. 'Tis no wonder then, that the Conquerors and Enslavers of Mankind are Subjects more generally engaging. Their Lives are crouded with such Events as charm the Reader and Writer at once; and secure to the Author and his Theme the Admiration of a thoughtless Posterity. This Prejudice is never the less unjust for being so general. A *Thrasylbulus* wandering an unknown Exile, and a *Brutus* concealing the greatest Parts and noblest Designs, under the Appearance of Folly, are even then vastly superior to a *Philip*

lip or *Cæsar*, when by a thousand memorable Actions, they were preparing to destroy the Liberty the others had procur'd. A Man that values Freedom, when he considers the Designs of the Monarch and the Conqueror, will be easily upon his Guard against commending any Steps that led to such an End: But when he is to mention the Patriots, he will find it hard, not to think History too cold to treat of these with sufficient Dignity. He will be strangely tempted to write their Panegyricks instead of their Lives, to heighten their Virtues, and disbelieve or extenuate their Faults. May it be forgiven me, a Partiality I can hardly prevail with my self to excuse! The Lovers of Liberty at least will wish with me, that so amiable a Character as that of a Deliverer of his Country is, may be as free from any Stains as is possible.

§. 2. ^a *Lucius Junius Brutus* had all the Advantages of Birth and Fortune that could meet in a Subject. His Father *M. Junius*, who was directly descended from one of *Æneas's* Companions, made a very considerable Figure in *Rome* upon account of his Virtues as well as of his Riches, under the Reign of the Elder *Tarquin*, and was chosen by that Prince, a good Judge of Merit, an Husband for his second Daughter *Tarquinia*, after he had given his Eldest to *Servius Tullius*, whom he design'd his Successor.

^a Dion. Hal. l. 4. p. 195.

^b When *Tarquin* the Proud ascended the Throne by the Murther of *Servius*, he thought his Safety oblig'd him to begin his Reign, by ridding himself of such eminent Citizens as might have Power or Inclination to disturb him in the Possession of a Crown he had gain'd so criminally. The Relation of *M. Junius* to the deceas'd King, his Riches, his Credit, his known Aversion to Vice made his Death be immediately resolv'd on. *Tarquin* had Modesty enough to order one that had married his Aunt, to be murther'd privately; but that he might not be wanting to his own Security, he took Care that *Junius's* eldest Son, a young Man of generous Sentiments, should share his Father's Fate, before he could form any Designs against the Authors of it.

§. 3. ^c *L. Junius* was not of an Age to be formidable to the Tyrant, when he lost his Father and Brother. He was sensible he could be safe no longer than while he was not suspected of being dangerous. At such Years, in which hardly any one but himself could have been capable of such a Thought, and yet less of executing it with Success, he resolv'd, under a counterfeited Folly, to wait for a favourable Opportunity of revenging the Injuries done to his Country and himself. His Skill was so admi-

^b Dion. Liv. l. 1. c. 56. Val. Max. VII. §. 2. & Aur. Vict. c. 10. in Brut. mention only the Brother's Death.

^c Dion. Liv. Aur. Vic. Ov. Fast. 11. 717.

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rable, that nothing was more universally believ'd than his Stupidity. Hence he had given him, by a sort of general Consent, the Sirname of *Brutus*, which, from being the most shameful in the World, he was to render the most honourable and glorious in all Antiquity.

§. 4. *Tarquin's* distinguishing Vice was Ambition and Lust of Empire. He shew'd in all his Life that there was no Crime, how barbarous soever, that he scrupled committing, to gain absolute Power, or to secure himself in it. When this was not in Question, he was not excessively cruel, and was willing enough to be free from the Guilt of an unnecessary Murther. He seiz'd immediately upon all ^d *Brutus's* Fortune. It had the Appearance of a charitable Action for the King, who was the nearest Relation, to take upon himself the Care of an Estate, which his Kinsman's Weakness render'd him incapable of looking into. After this he bred him up at Court with his Sons, and being intirely convinc'd of the Reality of his Folly, gave him the Command of his Life-Guards, a Post of Trust and Honour.

§. 5. ^e 'Twas several Years after this, that an important Occasion, which is related with some Variety, oblig'd *Tarquin* to send two of his Sons,

^d Liv. l. 15. 56. 59. Dion. l. 4. 195. 197.

^e Liv. l. 1. c. 56. Dion. l. 4. p. 196. Aur. Vic. c. 10. Ov. Fast. 11. 713. Plin. l. 15. c. 40. Val. Max. VII. 3. 2.

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Titus and *Aruns*, to consult the *Delphick* Oracle. They took *Brutus* with them, that his Folly might give them some Diversion amidst the Fatigues of so tedious a Journey. When they came to *Delphi*, the Princes made considerable Offerings to *Apollo*, and laugh'd heartily at *Brutus*, when they saw him present the God with his Staff. That Staff he had made hollow, and fill'd with Gold, a Resemblance (says the ^f Historian) of the Giver. After the Princes had discharg'd their Business, they ask'd which of them should reign first, and were answer'd, He that first kiss'd his Mother. The Princes resolv'd to kiss theirs at the same time, and to reign together. *Brutus*, who consider'd that Oracles were generally obscure; and that when they seem'd to carry a plain and obvious Sense, that Sense was hardly ever the true one, pretending to stumble, threw himself down, and kiss'd the Earth, our common Parent. If this Story be thought true, it will be yet imagin'd a little trifling; but the best Historians *Rome* or the World ever knew, thought no Action of *Brutus* too mean to find a Place in their Annals.

§. 6. Yet all the Prudence of *Brutus* had like to have been vain, and to have serv'd no Purpose but the preserving his Life, which he could value no otherwise than as it might be serviceable to his Country. How much soever *Tarquin*

^f Liv.

was

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was hated, he was fear'd yet a great deal more. He had remov'd all his considerable Enemies by Death or Banishment, those that remain'd in the City being conceal'd and unknown to one another. He had strengthen'd himself by foreign Alliances, and having continued the Tyrant of *Rome* for 25 Years, he might probably have died so, if he had not been the Father of *Sextus*. That Prince seem'd to be born with the Spirit of Tyranny, but of such an one, as was hardly known in those early Ages, and was never long endur'd by the most servile Nations. In his Youth he was Master of all that Cunning, Disimulation, and Treachery, which the most confirm'd in Villany can with Pains attain to in their old Age. His Ambition was extravagant, his Temper savage, and capable of the greatest Cruelties, and his Lusts entirely ungovern'd.

§. 7. § The destin'd Time of *Rome's* Deliverance approaching, *Tarquin* engag'd in a War with the *Rutuli*, a Nation rich and powerful for those Times, two strong Arguments to arm the King against them. The Pretence of the War was their having receiv'd some *Roman* Exiles, and enter'd into Measures for the restoring them. *Tarquin* laid Siege to *Ardea*, the Capital of that People, which he expected to have forc'd to an immediate Surrender. He was disappointed, the *Rutuli* defended their Freedom with Vigour,

§ Dion. Liv. l. 1. c. 57.

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and the Siege was drawn out to a considerable Length. ^h One Evening, while it lasted, *Tarquin's* Sons supp'd with *Collatinus*, a young Nobleman, who was related to them, being a Descendant of *Egerius*, a Nephew of the Elder *Tarquin*. While they were feasting, they happen'd to mention their Wives, and each of them was lavish in the Commendations of his own. At last the Dispute growing warm, *Collatinus* told them, such a Debate as this was best determin'd by Facts. We are (says he) but a few Hours Ride from our Wives, let us take Horse, visit them, and see how they bear our Absence. They were all well heated with Wine, and immediately approv'd the Proposal. They rid Post, and reach'd *Rome* by the Beginning of Night. The Princes found their Wives wasting the tedious Hours in good Company, and comforting themselves in the Absence of their Lords, with Feasting and Luxury. From thence *Collatinus* carried the Princes to *Collatia*. 'Twas late in the Night when they came thither. *Lucretia* was still up, spinning among her Maids, unadorn'd, but exquisitely charming in her Negligence. She was most agreeably surpriz'd at the Sight of her Lord; she receiv'd him with the utmost Tenderness, and the Princes with great Civility. They stay'd there that Night, and the next

^h Liv. l. 1. c. 57. Aur. Vic. c. 9. Ov. Fast. 11. 721.—760. Dio. in Exc. Val. p. 574.

Morning

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Morning return'd with *Collatinus* to the Camp, owning his Conquest, and admiring his Happiness.

§. 8. ⁱ But *Sextus* did not stop there. In him to admire *Lucretia's* Beauties, to desire them, and to resolve on enjoying them, was but the same thing. A few Days after he came to *Collatia*, with one Attendant, and was treated there with the Respect due to a Prince and a Relation. In the Dead of Night he came to *Lucretia's* Bed with his Sword drawn in his Hand; he waked her, and having made her sensible she must not expect any Succour, he us'd every Method to gain her Consent to his Desires. He urg'd the Violence of his Passion in his Excuse; he join'd to the softest Intreaties, Promises of Riches and Empire, and Threats of immediate Death. He vow'd at last, if she continu'd obstinate in her Refusal, he would stab her first, and then a Slave, whom he would lay naked in her Arms. The Threatning succeeded, and the triumphant Ravisher return'd to the Camp the next Morning.

§. 9. ^k As soon as he was departed, *Lucretia* sent Messengers to *Rome* to her Father, who was Governor of that City, and to her Husband at the Army, to beg they would hasten to her. A

ⁱ Liv. l. 1. c. 58. Dion. Hal. l. 4. p. 194. Ov. Fast. 11. 761.—812. Diod. in Exc. Val. p. 253. Dio. ib. p. 574. 577. Val. Max. VI. 1. 1. ^k Dion. l. 4. p. 194, 195. Liv. Ovid. Fast. 11. 813. —834.

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dismal Accident of the utmost Importance requir'd their Presence. She desir'd too each of them would bring one intimate Friend with him. They came in a little time, *Collatinus* taking *Brutus* with him, and *Sp. Lucretius*, *P. Valerius*. They found *Lucretia* alone, in Tears, and disorder'd. She told them what she had suffer'd, and begg'd them to revenge her Injury. They all promis'd what she desir'd of them, and began to comfort her from the Assurance of her Innocence. But she interrupted them in the Beginning of their Discourse. No, says she, no Woman shall be able to pretend my Example for out-living her Honour. I know I am innocent; all the World will believe me so, when I punish my self as if I were guilty. You at least will think honourably of my Memory. She drew out a Knife from under her Garments, as she ended her Speech, plung'd it in her Heart, and immediately expired.

§. 10. ¹ While her Husband and Father, distracted with Grief, were mourning over the Body, *Brutus* snatches the Knife, fresh reeking from the Wound, and grasping it with an Air, that seem'd to be more than human; I swear, he cries, by this Blood, the noblest in the World, and the chastest, till it was polluted by the Royal Monster, that I will bear immortal Enmity

¹ Liv. l. 1. c. 59. Dion. l. 4. p. 196, 197. Aur. Vict. c. 9, 10. Ov. Fast. 11. 835.—46.

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to *Tarquin* the Proud, his impious Wife, and all their detested Progeny. My whole Life shall be employ'd in pursuing them with Fire and Sword, and all the Violence of a righteous Vengeance: Nor will I ever suffer, that they or any other shall reign in *Rome*. Supreme *Jove*! *Mars*, Parent of our City! and all the Gods bear Witness to my Vows! and if I fail, make my Death as violent as this Matron's, but as shameful and unpitied as hers is glorious. Then turning to those around him, who were now dumb with Astonishment as well as Grief, Why do you delay, he says, to follow my Example? Leave Cries and Laments to Women. If you are Men, think of nothing but Revenge, and the most effectual Methods of making it certain and speedy. He gave the Knife as he spoke to *Collatinus*, and then to the Father and *Valerius*. They swore as he order'd them, and loosing their Sorrow in the nobler Passion, they conjur'd *Brutus* to lead them against the Tyrant, and instruct them in the Steps to be taken, in order to their succeeding in the great Enterprize.

§. 11. ^m *Brutus* began with giving them an Account of his Disguise, and the Reasons of it. He told them, they would easily imagine, that his Thoughts had been much employ'd, in considering what Form of Government would be likeliest to make *Rome* happy, if there should

^m Dion. Hal. l. 4. p. 197, 198, 199.

ever arrive an Opportunity of freeing her from the Tyranny she had so long groan'd under. The Scheme he had at last fix'd upon was this: The Senate and People should be left in Possession of the Power they had under the former Princes; the Name of Kings, justly odious, should be intirely abolish'd; their Authority still retain'd, but divided as at *Sparta*, between two, one of whom might be a Check upon the other; and for the most effectual preventing of these supreme Magistrates from succeeding in Attempts upon the publick Liberties, tho' they should unite to make such Attempts, they should be chosen annually, as those of *Athens* were. The most invidious Ensigns of Royalty should be laid down, or us'd only on extraordinary Occasions; and those Sacrifices or Ceremonies that used to be perform'd by the Kings, should be for the future perform'd by one appointed for that Purpose only, who should be call'd *King of holy Things*, and have that Office for his Life; if they approv'd of this Scheme in general, the descending into Particulars, and the correcting of any lesser Errors might very well be left till the Liberties of *Rome* were settled, which might now be easily done, if they were willing to pursue his Directions.

§. 12. " All that he said was immediately approv'd of. The Body of *Lucretia* bleeding, and unadorn'd, was, by his Order, carried into the

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Market-place of *Collatia*. The Father and the Husband follow'd, and telling their own Story with all the natural Eloquence of Affliction, mov'd the People to Tears, while *Brutus*, as he had done before, chid the unmanly Sorrow, and urg'd all around him to nobler Sentiments of Liberty and Vengeance. All the Youth of *Collatia* vow'd to follow him, and most of them arm'd. Some Guards were left at the Gates of the Town, to prevent any Intelligence from being carried to the Tyrant: The rest, with *Brutus* at their Head, accompanied *Lucretia's* Body into *Rome*.

§. 13. ° As the sad Pomp pass'd the Streets, it gather'd vast Crowds; and *Brutus* sent his Criers about all the City, to summon the People to attend him in the *Forum*. He attended the Place from whence Orations us'd to be made, and whence he himself, as Captain of the Guard, had often before deliver'd the Commands of the Tyrant. P His Air and Manner might have made it unnecessary for him to acquaint the People, that his Folly had been only counterfeit, yet he began with that, and after a short Mention of his own History, he enlarg'd upon that of *Tarquin*. He ran back to the Crimes of his private Life, his Adulteries with his Brother's Wife, the Murther of his own, and of his injur'd Bro-

° Dion. l. 4. p. 200. Liv. l. 1. p. 59. Ov. Fast. 11. 847.

P Dion. l. 4. p. 200, 201, 202, 203.

ther,

ther, aggravated by his Marriage with the Adul-
tress, almost before the Ashes of the unhappy
Pair were cold in their Urns. He dwelt more
upon the Death of the good old King his Fa-
ther-in-Law, to whom he had the greatest Ob-
ligations, and whose Age was so very far advanc'd,
that a few Years at most must have given him,
without a Crime, the Possession of a Throne he
had chosen, by so horrid a Barbarity. He did not
forget the infamous End, to which the wretch-
ed Queen, *Tarquin's* Mother-in-Law and Aunt,
who had been a Parent to him, was reduc'd by
him, when she had scarce perform'd the last Du-
ties to her Husband. But he most insisted upon
Tarquin's Reign carried on by the same Arts with
which it was begun. The noblest of the *Pa-
tricians* murder'd or banish'd; the few left in
Rome reduc'd to a Degree of Poverty and Con-
tempt, that would raise the Compassion of an
Enemy: The People themselves depriv'd of the
Benefit of the Laws, forbidden their Assemblies,
and employ'd without the least Respite in Drud-
geries so toilsome and so vile, that a common
Humanity would not have inflicted them on the
meanest Slave. Yet these Miseries, great as they
were, would not be altogether intolerable, if
there was a Prospect of their ending at the Death
of their Oppressor, which now could hardly be
far off. But *Tarquin* had three Sons already grown
up, born in Tyranny, bred in a Court where
they

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they never had any Example of Virtue, and where the most infamous Acts of Violence and Cruelty were familiar to them. The People might be convinc'd by what they now saw, what they were to expect from Children worthy a Father, the worst of Tyrants, and a Mother that drove a Chariot over her Father's mangled Body. The sacred Ties of Marriage; the Rights of Hospitality reverenc'd among the most barbarous Nations; the being Daughter to one the Tyrant had entrusted with the Government of the City in his Absence, and Wife to a very near Relation, could not preserve *Lucretia* from the Lust of *Sextus*, and an Indignity she could not survive.

§. 14. Transported at the Mention of *Lucretia's* Death, (and giving a Loose to the noble Fury) Thou art gone (he cried) thou best and greatest of Women! Not all the Softness of thy Sex, not all the Charms of Life, of Youth, or Beauty; not all the Intreaties and Tears of thy dearest Friends, could make thee bear Life after thine Infamy. Canst thou not inspire us with Part of thy *Vigour*? Thou that couldst not endure the Violence of one Night, canst thou not by thy great Example rouse us from the slavish Lethargy that has made us insensible under a Tyranny of twenty-five Years? Can we see thee, and yet call our selves Men, and yet call our selves *Romans*? Can we pretend to be
4 the

the Offspring of those Heroes who carried Terror over all the neighbouring Cities, who were inur'd to Conquest and Danger, and thought nothing terrible but Dishonour; we who have so long dragg'd a wretched Life upon such poor Terms? O *Romans!* let us indulge the generous Confusion; let the Shame of our past Stupidity engage us in daring every Thing to repair it. Are you not all convinc'd, that an honourable Death is a thousand times to be preferr'd to our present Condition? But 'tis not to Death that I invite you, 'tis to Life, to Liberty, to Happiness. What do we fear? The Tyrant is absent; the City is our own, and provided with every Thing; the most illustrious of the Senate are at your Head. Nor let *Tarquin's* Army give you any Apprehensions. Doubt not, that Army is fill'd with great Numbers of Soldiers, who have often blush'd in employing their Valour in the making of others as miserable as themselves, and who wait only for a Leader to turn their Arms with Joy against the Tyrant they serve under. Those that will not be mov'd by so noble Principles, will yet be touch'd by the dear Pledges their Wives and Children, that are all in our Hands. A general Pardon will bring over to us even those that are the most devoted to the Tyrant. But above all, *Romans*, let us trust in the immortal Gods, the Avengers of Murder, of Sacrilege, of Parricide. We invoke you, all
ye

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ye tutelar Deities of *Rome*, with a firm Assurance of being heard in such reasonable Requests. Assist us in improving the Opportunity you have put into our Hands; own us the Instruments of your Justice; shew the most visible Signs of your Favour to a Cause that lays Claim to your Protection, and inspire us with every Sentiment that may make us deserve the Blessings you are preparing for us.

§. 15. ¶ The Condition of the People, during *Brutus's* Speech, may be more easily conceiv'd than exprest. Grief, Rage, Shame, Indignation, ardent Desires, and Hopes of Revenge and Freedom, mix'd with Doubts of the Success, possess them by Turns. When *Brutus* had ended, they all with loud Acclamations call'd upon him to give them Arms, and lead them against the Tyrant. *Brutus* applauded their Resolution; but desir'd them first to decree the Banishment of the King, and all the Royal Family, and to make it capital for any Person to attempt, or but to mention the restoring them. This Decree was pass'd by every *Curia*; and *Brutus* then proposing the new Form of Government to their Consideration, that too was universally approv'd of. *Sp. Lucretius* was declar'd *Interrex*, who order'd all the People to assemble arm'd in the *Campus Martius*. When the Assembly was met, he nominated *Brutus* and *Collatinus* Consuls, the

¶ Dion. l. 4. p. 203, 204. Liv. l. 1. c. 59, 60.

M

Title

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Title agreed to be given the new Magistrates, from consulting or advising in publick Affairs. They were immediately confirm'd by the Votes of every Century.

§. 16. * *Tarquin* having by this time receiv'd some Advice of what was acting at *Rome* against him, left the Army, and, with a few Attendants, rode to the City. He found the Gates shut, and the Walls fill'd with arm'd Men, who refus'd him Admittance, and pronounc'd to him themselves the People's Decree for his Banishment. Returning to the Army full of Rage and Distraction, he found that too had by this time declar'd against him. *Brutus* had been there, while he was absent, had been kindly receiv'd, and had, with a great deal of Ease, perswaded the Soldiers to engage in the Cause of Liberty, and expel the King's Sons out of the Camp, who were forc'd to retire with their Father to † *Gabii*. The impious *Tullia* was at *Rome* all this while. After this amazing Revolution she fled from her Palace, follow'd through the Streets by the Crowd, with Curses and loud Invocations of the Furies of her Parents, to try all their Torments upon so execrable a Daughter.

§. 17. † As soon as *Brutus* was Master of the Camp, he made a Truce of fifteen Years with the *Ardeates*, and brought back the Army to

* Liv. l. 1. c. 60. Dion. l. 4. 204, 205. † Liv. l. 1. c. 59.

‡ Dion. l. 4. & 5. p. 205. Liv. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. in Pop.

Rome. A few Days after, he with his Collegue summon'd a new Assembly of the People. He made a Speech to them, advising to Concord, and the repeating the Decree for the Banishment of the Royal Family. The Decree being past with the same Unanimity as before, the Consuls swore before the Altars, with the utmost Solemnity, for themselves, their Children and Relations, that they would never bring back the King, his Sons, or any of his Posterity, would never place a King over the City themselves, and would oppose with all their Forces any that should attempt it. The People follow'd their Example with great Readiness.

§. 18. " In the regulating of the new Constitution, the Deliverers of *Rome* made Religion their first Care. *M. Papyrius*, a Man venerable by his Age and Merit, was made the King of holy Things. In Civil Affairs the Consuls thought they could not more readily ease the People, than by renewing the Constitutions of the good old *Servius*, which *Tarquin* had in a great Measure abolish'd. They reviv'd his Laws about Contracts, and those he had made, to encourage the assembling of the Communities, both in the City and Country, to perform some religious Rites in common, and cultivate a publick Friendship. They declar'd the Assemblies of the People restor'd to all their antient Autho-

• Dion. l. 5. p. 205. Liv. l. 2. c. 1.

city. But while they were thus exercising the Royal Power to the noblest Purposes, in making their Fellow-Citizens happy, to avoid the Envy of the Name, they divided the common Ensigns of Royalty, the Rods and Axes between them, and agreed to exchange them every Month.

§. 19. ^w *Tarquin*, in the mean time, from his Retreat at *Gabii*, sent Messengers to the *Latine* Cities, to engage them in his Interest. Finding them unwilling to concern themselves in his Affairs, he went to *Tarquinii*, the City of his Grandfather; he was receiv'd kindly there; the Account he gave the Citizens of the strange Reverse of his Fortune, which was interrupted by his Tears, mov'd their Compassion, and easily persuaded them to send Embassadors to *Rome* in his Favour, who were privately charg'd with large Sums of Money, and Letters from the Companions of the King's Exile, to some of their Friends and Domesticks in the City.

§. 20. ^{*} The Embassadors being admitted to the Senate, begg'd a safe Conduct for the King to plead his Cause before the Fathers, and submit himself to the Examination of the whole People, that if they were convinc'd, he had acted nothing worthy of Banishment, they might again own him as their King, on such Terms as they thought proper; or if they had resolv'd to

^w Dion. l. 5. p. 206.
Plut. Vit. Pop. Liv. l. 2. c. 3.

^{*} Dion. l. 5. p. 206, 207, 208.

abolish that Dignity, he might at least spend the Remainder of his Life with his Family, in the Place of his Birth, though it were only as a private Citizen. Their City ask'd this of the *Romans*, as a Debt due to their antient Alliance, and which common Humanity and Justice too demanded of them, neither of which would allow of condemning a Man without hearing an Apology, of the Reasonableness of which themselves were to be the only Judges. *Brutus*, who heard them with a great deal of Impatience, gave them, in a few Words, an Account of the *Romans* repeated Decrees and Oaths against the King's Admission, and assur'd them that whatever Instances they made to obtain it must be fruitless. If the *Tarquinians* had any Thing to ask that was not inconsistent with the Vows and Laws of *Rome*, they should find that City not unwilling to oblige them.

§. 21. The Embassadors having affected a Surprise at an Answer which they were prepar'd for, said, they had however Orders from their City, to insist positively on the restoring the King's Goods. These had been left him by his Grandfather, and could not be said to have been got by Violence and Injustice. The granting this would engage the King to live quietly, and not attempt the disturbing their Settlement. They left the Senate to consider of this Demand, and retir'd.

§. 22. *Brutus* spoke warmly against the restoring the King's Estate. It had been sufficiently forfeited by so long a Tyranny. 'Twould be the Height of Madness for the *Romans* to furnish the King with Riches, he would certainly employ in endeavouring their Ruin. *Collatinus*, a weak, easy Man, bred up in a Court, and ignorant of the Value of Liberty, chosen to the Consulship, against *Brutus's* Inclination, without any Merit, but that of being *Lucretia's* Husband; and notwithstanding his Injury, hardly yet a steadfast Enemy to the *Tarquins*, oppos'd his Colleague. The retaining the King's Goods would be a Reflection on their Cause; 'twould be thought that the desiring the Riches of the *Tarquins*, was the truest Reason of their Banishment; 'twould necessarily involve the *Romans* in a War, and give the King the best Pretence against them he could desire, and perhaps procure him a powerful Succour; whereas if *Tarquin* should attempt a War, (which for his Part he could not think he would) when he had recover'd his Estate, he would find it difficult to meet with Allies to support him in so unjust an Enterprize.

§. 23. The Senate deliberated several Days upon the Proposition of the Embassadors, and at last left it to be decided by the People. When they were assembled, the Consuls gave them an Account of their different Opinions, and the Grounds

Grounds of them. The Sentiment of *Brutus* was by far the most agreeable to Reason and Policy; but several of the *Romans* thinking that of *Collatinus* the most honourable, and weakly flattering themselves, that by following it they might prevent a War they dreaded; when the Tribes came to vote, the restoring the King's Goods was carried by one Voice.

§. 24 y The Embassadors being acquainted with the Determination of the People, remain'd in the City, pretending to wait for Carriages to remove Part of the Goods, and for Opportunities of selling what they could not remove. Their real Business was the delivering the Letters from the Exiles, and settling a Correspondence between the City and those with *Tarquin*. They found the King had a good Number of secret Friends in *Rome*. Several young Men, particularly of the noblest Families, could not bear the Severity of the new Common-wealth. Under an absolute Prince Requests were soon heard, and Kindnesses granted. A King would know when 'twas proper to be angry, and when to pardon, and to make fitting Distinctions between a Friend and an Enemy. Justice might be commanded to be silent, or take a favourable Turn. The Laws were deaf and inexorable, more advantageous to the Poor than the Rich. 'Twas neither easy nor safe to live under a Go-

y Dion. l. 5. p. 208. Plut. Vit. Pop. Liv. l. 2. c. 3.

vernment, which, without considering the Frailties of human Nature, made no Allowances for Excesses, and in which even those of the highest Quality had no Protection but in their Innocence. They had often said such Things as these to themselves and one another; and the Embassadors found it no difficult Matter to form a Conspiracy, the Heads of which were the *Vitellii*, whose Sister *Brutus* had married, and the *Aquilii*, Nephews to *Collatinus*. These made several other noble Youths, among whom were *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the only Sons of *Brutus*, acquainted with the Design, and engag'd them in it.

§. 25. ^z The Conspirators met generally at the House of the *Aquilii*, whose Father was dead, and who had Apartments conveniently private. The Embassadors gave *Tarquin* an Account of their Measures, and receiv'd a Letter from him, in which he desir'd the Heads of the Conspiracy would write him a Detail of the Steps they intended to pursue, and of their Strength. He desir'd too that they would sign it, that he might know to whom he was oblig'd, and might be able to shew his Gratitude to his Restorers. The young Men readily consented to the Demand, and met at the usual House one Evening, in order to comply with it. One *Vindicius*, a *Ceninenian* Slave of the Family, having suspected

^z Liv. l. 2. c. 4. Dion. l. 5. p. 208, 209. Plut. vit. Pop.
some

something extraordinary in these frequent Meetings, when the Servants were dismiss'd, after Supper, ventur'd to hide himself in a Place where he could hear their Debates, and the Resolutions they took to kill the Consuls, and restore the King, which they confirm'd with Oaths; and, according to some Authors, with the horrid Ceremony of drinking a Man's Blood, and touching his Entrails. As soon as he had seen them sign the Letter to the King, he hasten'd out of the House to make a Discovery. Unwilling to address himself to either of the Consuls, because of their Relation to the Conspirators, he went to the House of *P. Valerius*, and acquainted him with the whole Affair. *Valerius* confin'd the Slave, and taking some Servants and Friends with him, came to the House of the *Aquilii* before Morning, seiz'd the Conspirators together, and secur'd the Letters.

§. 26. ^a The Consuls by this time, inform'd of what had been done, ascended their Tribunal, and order'd the Criminals to be brought before them. They were brought in bound, the Letters read, and the Slave examin'd. The Youths were the noblest of *Rome*, yet the Eyes of all the Crowd were fix'd only on the Consul's Sons. Their Condition, miserable as it was, deserv'd no Pity, nor had the People any Sentiments of

^a Liv. l. 2. c. 5. Dion. l. 5. p. 209, 210. Plut. Vit. Pop. Aur. Vic. c. 10. L. Flor. l. 9.

Tender.

Tenderness for Wretches, for whose Ingratitude to their Country, and to such a Father, no Punishment could be great enough. But their Concern for the Part *Brutus* had, in the young Men, melted them into Compassion. All the People join'd their Tears with those of the Youths, several propos'd a Pardon, and the severest a Banishment. But *Brutus* having commanded Silence, ask'd each of his Sons, if they had any Defence to make. He repeated his Question thrice, and receiving no Answer, he turn'd to his Officers, and said, What remains, Lictors, is your Duty. He then look'd on, and saw his Sons scourg'd and beheaded, the only unmov'd Person in the Assembly.

§. 27. ^b The *Aquili*, who were next examin'd, instead of making any Defence, threw themselves at the Feet of their Uncle, and hung upon his Knees. *Brutus* commanding the Lictors to remove them, *Collatinus* order'd them to stay, and taking his Colleague aside, conjur'd him to spare the thoughtless Youths, and give him their Life, as the only Favour he would ever beg of him. *Brutus*, amaz'd at his Request, deny'd his Consent, and refus'd so much as to delay the Execution. *Collatinus* having urg'd him in vain, at last, raising his Voice, since thou art so inexorable, he cried, I, by the Power that I have, equal to thine, declare the young Men free. *Bru-*

^b Dion. l. 5. p. 210.

tus, enrag'd at his Stupidity, No, *Collatinus*, he cried out, while I live, thou shalt never have it in thy Power to protect Traitors to thy Country, and shalt thy self suffer for the Insolence of thy Attempt.

§. 28. ^c Having said this, he placed a Guard upon the Conspirators, and summon'd an Assembly of the People to the *Forum*. They met immediately, and *Brutus* arising, told them; Their Easiness in consenting to give up the Tyrant's Goods, had given an Opportunity for the forming a most dangerous Conspiracy, to restore the King, and ruin their Liberties. He gave them a particular Account of the Design, and those that were concern'd in it. When the Gods had miraculously discover'd the Attempt, he had begun to do his Duty, and by ordering the Execution of his Sons, and seeing it perform'd, had shewn how little he valued any Interest but that of his Country. But his Colleague had stopp'd the Course of Justice, and in endeavouring to save his Nephews, had sav'd, as far as was in his Power, all the rest of the Conspirators too, since there could be no Pretence for punishing any, when those were pardon'd whose Guilt was the same. He turn'd himself then to *Collatinus*, and reproach'd his Conduct in the warmest Terms. He urg'd the Baseness of betraying the Liberties of *Rome* intrusted with him. He put

^c Dion. l. 5. p. 210, 211, 212.

him in mind of his Oath, that he would oppose any Attempts in Favour of the Tyrant's Family, and ask'd him, if it was thus he perform'd it. He bid him be gone to his Relations, whom dull and insensible as he was, he could yet prefer his Country. He ended his Discourse, by telling the *Romans* he had summon'd them to depose and banish their unworthy Magistrate. He knew not what would be the End of their Consultations; but he could assure them they should never have *Brutus* and *Collatinus* their Consuls. They might consider which of them they would part with.

§. 29. *Collatinus* offer'd to defend himself, but the People were too much enrag'd to hear him. They were impatient to decree his Exile, when *Sp. Lucretius*, a popular Man arose, and desir'd to be heard. He address'd himself first to his Son-in-Law, desir'd him to yield to the Necessity of Affairs, to resign a Magistracy the People would certainly resume, and prevent the Decree of his Banishment, by a voluntary leaving the City. Then turning to *Brutus*, he begg'd him not to heighten his Colleague's Disgrace, to save him from the Infamy of being depos'd and banish'd, to give him time to carry off his Goods, and comfort him under his Misfortunes, by some Presents out of the Treasury.

§. 30. *Brutus* readily approv'd of this Proposal, and *Collatinus*, who was not in a Condition
to

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to oppose it, resign'd his Trust, and promis'd to depart the City. As soon as he had done this, *Brutus* made a Speech to him, with a great deal of Calmness. He commended his Prudence, in having taken an Advice so much for his own and the publick Advantage. He desir'd him to look upon his Absence from *Rome*, as a Thing absolutely requisite in the present Posture of Affairs, and not at all design'd to dishonour him. He did not doubt but he would still remember what he owed to his native City, and never correspond with its Enemies. In the Assurance of this, and out of a Sense of the former Obligations the Republick had to him, he would venture to promise for the *Romans*, a Gift of twenty Talents out of the Treasury, to which he would add five of his own. The People applauded all that *Brutus* said, and *Collatinus*, without any farther Struggle, retir'd to *Lavinium*, where he lived afterwards quietly, and died in a good old Age.

§. 31. ^d After this, *Brutus* call'd a new Assembly of the People into the *Campus Martius*. *Valerius* was chosen Consul, one whose Zeal for the Publick deserv'd that Honour. The Choice was intirely to the Satisfaction of *Brutus*, who had always desir'd him for his Collegue. In perfect Concert with him, he put the rest of the Conspirators to Death. ^e The Slave that

^d Dion. l. 5. p. 212. Plut. Vit. Pop.
Plut. in Pop. Dio. l. 5. p. 212.

^e Liv. l. 2. c. 5.

made the Discovery was rewarded with Freedom, which is said to have been afterwards call'd *Vindicta*, from his Name. He was made too a Citizen of *Rome*, and had a large Sum of the publick Money. ^f The Embassadors were dismiss'd, out of a Regard to the Laws of Nations, though they had forfeited all Right to their Protection.

§. 32. ^g The first publick Act of the new Consuls was the increasing the Senate, which had been quite exhausted by *Tatquin's* Executions, and filling up the antient Number of three hundred, out of the most considerable of the *Plebeians*. The King's Goods they divided among the meaner People, or, according to others, left them to be plunder'd by them. They destroy'd the Palace. The Crop of a Field, which had been devoted to *Mars*, but sacrilegiously seiz'd on, and sow'd by the Tyrant, was thrown into the *Tiber*, that it might not be again profan'd to common Uses. The Stream being shallow, what was cast into it settled together, and form'd a little Island, call'd *Insula Sacra*. The Ground was afterwards improv'd, and several large Buildings and Temples erected upon it. After this, the Consuls publish'd an Order, allowing twenty Days for those that had fled with the King, to return in, with a Promise of Pardon for all

^f Liv. l. 2. c. 4.
Plut. in Pop.

^g Liv. l. 2. c. 1. Dion. l. 5. p. 213.

their former Crimes. Those that did not return in that time, were banish'd for ever, and their Estates confiscated.

§. 33. ^h By this time Advice came to *Rome*, that the Inhabitants of *Tarquinii* and *Veii* had openly declar'd for the King, and rais'd a large Army, in order to restore him by Force; and that most of the *Etrurian* Cities secretly favour'd him, and permitted their Soldiers to list under him. The Consuls rais'd all the Forces they could, exercis'd them daily without the City; and when they heard the Enemy was in Motion, they march'd to meet them. The Number of Troops was pretty equal, and both Sides having an Inclination to a Battle, it soon happen'd. *Valerius* commanded the right Wing of the *Roman* Army, over-against the *Veientes*; and *Brutus* the left; opposite to which were those of *Tarquinii*, who had *Aruns*, the King's Son, at their Head. As soon as the Prince saw *Brutus*, he insulted him with insolent Language, and rode out before his Troops to attack him. *Brutus* clapt Spurs to his Horse to meet him, and each of them assailing his Adversary with a Warmth, that made him neglect his own Safety, they ran their Spears through one another's Bodies, both fell and died immediately.

§. 34. Such was the End of *Brutus*, the second and better Founder of *Rome*; a Man, who,

^h Liv. l. 2. c. 6. Dion. l. 5. p. 213, 214. Plut. in Pop.

if we except the last Action of his Life, in which he expos'd himself too rashly, left an Example the most perfect a Patriot can propose to himself to imitate. He bore, he dar'd, he sacrific'd every Thing for his Country. 'Tis a most convincing Proof of his admirable Prudence, that *Rome* was so long free, great and happy, under the Government of which he laid the Foundations; and it can't be reasonably doubted, that if the Alterations of After-times had been made with equal Judgment, the *Roman* Liberty had lasted much longer, or not sunk so easily. *Brutus* had a great deal of the old *Roman* Roughness in his Temper, and was inclin'd to a Severity, which he never exercis'd but on the Enemies of *Rome* and Freedom. His Passions were naturally violent; but he knew how to give a Loose to them, or restrain them, as his Country's Interest requir'd. When transported out of himself, and infecting the People that heard him, with the glorious Madness, he rouzes them to Liberty; or when justly warm and vehement, he urges the Ruin of an unworthy Colleague, to prevent that of the Publick; he is as great as when he endur'd, with the utmost Patience, the Scorn and Insults of a Tyrant, that had murder'd his Relations, till he had an Opportunity of avenging himself and *Rome* at once; or when stifling all the Anguish of his Soul, all the Pangs of Nature, he sentenc'd his only Sons to the Axe, and beheld himself the Execution of his Sentence. §. 35. 'Tis

§. 35. 'Tis a melancholy Thing, that there should be any Persons found, that could condemn the Fact I last mention'd, and that there should be any Occasion to make Apologies for an Action, that was most deserving the united Praises of Mankind. Nothing is more certain than that the Interest of his Country, and all the Rules of good Policy, demanded this Execution from *Brutus*. 'Twas of the last Consequence for preserving the new Establishment, that the People should be convinc'd by such a glaring Instance, that the most heinous Crimes against their Country should not escape Punishment, whoever were the Authors of them. Had the young *Junius* been spar'd, the People would have had Reason to think they had only chang'd their Tyrants: The Ill-tim'd Mercy had invited new Conspiracies; and *Brutus* had made just the same poor Figure in History that his Colleague does now.

§. 36. 'Tis only since the World learnt Slavery, that the Merit of this Action has been disputed. While *Rome* preserv'd the Freedom *Brutus* gave her, his Memory was inviolable. No Poetⁱ then would have dared to suppose an im-

ⁱ Virgil *Æneid* 6.

Infelix utcumque ferent ea Fata Nepotes.

Urget Amor Patriæ Laudumq; immensa Cupido.

Th' unhappy Hero leaves a doubtful Name,
And future Times shall oft an Action blame,
Urg'd by his Country's Love and Lust immense of Fame.

N

} moderate

moderate Thirst of Praise had any Part in his Justice, nor a ^k Philosopher to doubt, if the most exalted Instance of Love to one's Country that ever was, proceeded from a divine or brutal Frame of Mind. The Age that felt immediately the Blessings of the new Constitution, thought they could never enough honour their Deliverer. ¹ The Army of the Enemy retiring in the Night, *Valerius* return'd to *Rome* in a sad Triumph. The Body of *Brutus* crown'd, was carried before him, on the Shoulders of the best Horse-men, and met by all the Senate and People in Tears. The next Day his Funerals were solemniz'd with the greatest Pomp, and the Consul summoning the People, made an Oration in his Praise from the Tribunal. The Matrons of the City mourn'd for the Avenger of their Chastity a whole Year, as for a Father. ^m Soon after there was a Statue erected to him in the Capitol, with a drawn Dagger in his Hand.

§. 37. ⁿ It has been said, that *Brutus* had no other Sons but those that were beheaded; and indeed the best Historians agree he had no other Children. There was indeed a Family of the *Junii* in *Rome*, that pretended to derive their Original from this *Brutus*; but the Vanity of their Pretences is sufficiently proved from their having

^k Plut. in the Life of P. Valer.
Plut. Vit. Pop. Dion. l. 5. p. 215.

¹ Dion. l. 5. p. 216.

¹ Liv. l. 2. c. 7.

^m Plut. in M. Brut.

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been in such Offices, as none but *Plebeians* could execute. The younger *Brutus*, who deliver'd *Rome* with equal Virtue, though not equal Success to that of the first, was born of this Family. That excellent Man, true Heir to the Spirit of the Hero, whose Name he bore, needed not the Glory of numbring him among his Ancestors: His Character is so intirely great, that the having been descended from the first *Brutus*, which would have been so highly advantageous to any other, would have made but a very mean Part of his Praises.

N 2

THE

THE LIFE OF GEO.

§. 1. **T**HERE is hardly any Instance, not only among the *Greeks*, but among the *Barbarians* themselves, of a People that lost their Liberties so often, and suffer'd so much under their Tyrants, as the *Sicilians*. They often shook off their Yoke; and when they were unable to do it, were more than once freed by other Nations. But Factions and Divisions constantly accompanied their Liberty; and 'twas easy enough for an ambitious and artful Man, by putting himself at the Head of one Party to ruin and enslave both; and as they were seldom without such as had Power and Inclination enough to improve their Weakness, their whole History is only a Round of long Tyrannies, and short Intervals of Freedom.

§. 2. Nothing can excuse the Stupidity of this People. If they were not always so miserable

as

as they deserved to be ; if they had some Tyrants, who were Persons of great Merit, and to whom they had Obligations considerable enough to make them almost without a Crime insensible of the Loss of their Liberty; yet for the most Part, those to whom they submitted so tamely, were Men of the blackest Characters; and the Advantages they receiv'd from the former, were not comparable to the Mischiefs they endur'd under those great Criminals, whose Reigns have made *Sicilian* Tyranny proverbial in all Ages. Without doubt, none of the Rulers of *Sicily* gave her less Cause to repent of her Submission than *Gelo*. None ever took so much Care, by the Blessings scatter'd from the Throne, to make those irregular Methods forgotten, by which he ascended it. None ever better excus'd an hasty seizing upon Empire, by acting so when in Possession of it, as to deserve the Choice of a free-born People.

§. 3. The Family of which *Gelo* descended, was originally of the Island of *Telos*. * His Ancestors remov'd into *Sicily*, when the City *Gela* was built, by a Colony from *Rhodes*. *Telines*, one of their Posterity, was Priest of the infernal Deities. He is said to have been a Man of no great Spirit or Rigour; yet some Inhabitants of *Gela*, who were driven out of the City by a Sedition, having engag'd him in their Interest, he,

* Herod. l. 7. c. 153.

without any Forces, but purely by the Authority his Character gave him, restor'd the Exiles, and was rewarded, by having the Priesthood made hereditary in his Family.

§ 4. *Dinomenes*, the Father of *Gelo*, had besides him three other Sons, *Hiero*, *Thrasylbulus*, and *Polyzelus*. If the following Story of him be true, and not made after the Events, pretended to be foretold in it, he appears to have been a Person of generous Sentiments, and one who was not likely to have any Share in the Crimes of his Children. ^b He is said to have consulted the Oracle about their Fortune; and being told that three of them would be Tyrants, Great God! the good old Man cried out in a very commendable Passion, if they are to be so guilty, may they be miserable too! The Oracle assur'd him they should have Misfortunes enough to render their Enjoyment of Greatness very imperfect. The Prophecy was fulfill'd in the continual Sicknes of two of the Brothers, and the Banishment of the third, after a short and uneasy Reign.

§. 5. The Education of *Gelo*, who was the second of these Sons, was in all Probability very rude. 'Tis certain he was always unpolish'd, and had, to the last, something very rustick in his Air. He had no manner of Learning himself, nor any Value for it in others. He had a great

^b Plut. de Pyth. Orac. p. 403.

Indifference for those Arts which are reckon'd the more polite. ^c He was once at a Feast where a Lyre was brought out; and as it was usual in those Times, handed about to the Company. When it came to *Gelo's* Turn, he refus'd to take it, and getting on the Back of an Horse which he had sent for, he managed him with a great deal of Art and Vigour, shewing at the same time a Contempt for the Diversions of the Assembly, and a perfect Skill in a more manly Exercise.

§. 6. ^d *Gelo's* Merit had soon an Opportunity of appearing. *Hippocrates*, Tyrant of *Gela*, was a Prince of several good Qualities, but his Valour and Ambition were his most distinguishing Characters. He enlarg'd the Dominions his Brother had left him, and was in a few Years Master of most of the considerable Towns in *Sicily*, except *Syracuse*. The Inhabitants of that City put some Stop to his Conquests, but they had like to have increas'd the Number of them. *Hippocrates* defeated their Army; but the *Corinthians* sending over some Forces to their Assistance, he made a Peace with them, yet so as to oblige the *Syracusans*, to abandon to him the City of *Camarina*, which they had for some time defended against him. *Gelo* constantly attended upon this Prince in his Expeditions, he

^c Plut. Apophtheg. p. 175.

^d Herod. l. 7. c. 154.

was near his Person in every Action, and had a very great Share in the Glory of his Successes.

§. 7. ^e The Tyrant being engag'd in a new War, was slain in a Battle before the Town of *Hybla*. He left two Sons, *Euclides* and *Cleander*, who attempted to succeed their Father. But the Citizens of *Gela* thinking they were in a Condition to free themselves, refused to own them. *Gelo* putting himself at the Head of some Troops, soon reduc'd the Citizens to a Submission; but having made the Experiment of his Power, he resolv'd not to conquer for others, and by an Ingratitude never to be excus'd, depos'd the Children of his Benefactor, and secur'd the Tyranny to himself.

§. 8. ^t This was but the Beginning of *Gelo's* good Fortune. In a little time he had a favourable Occasion of increasing his Power without a Crime. Some of the most considerable of the *Syracusans* had been banish'd their City, by a Faction made up of the meanest of the People, and several of their own Slaves. They applied themselves to *Gelo*, to be restor'd by his Assistance. *Gelo* readily embrac'd their Cause, and coming before *Syracuse* with some Forces, the whole People came out to meet him, and surrendred up to him their City and themselves. *Gelo* immediately enter'd the City, and made it afterwards his constant Seat.

^e Her. ib. c. 155.

^t Herod.

§. 9. ^g As soon as he was posselt of *Syracuse*, he neglected all his other Dominions, and gave himself intirely to the increasing and improving of that City. His native Town, *Gela*, he immediately resign'd to his elder Brother *Hiero*, having first remov'd above half of the Inhabitants to his new Conquest. The City of *Camarina* he intirely destroy'd, and gave all the People a better Settlement, by making them Citizens of *Syracuse*.

§. 10. *Gelo* had the same Views to the Advantage of this City in the Wars he was engag'd in. The *Megarenfes* had imprudently enter'd into a War with him. ^h They were an antient and powerful Colony of the City of *Megara* in *Attica*; but they were not able to resist *Gelo*. He conquer'd them, seized on their Territories, besieged their City, and soon forc'd them to a Surrender. ⁱ He immediately made large Offers to the Citizens that would remove to *Syracuse*, but finding them generally inclin'd to remain in their City, he impos'd an excessive Tribute on their Prince *Diognetus*. He attempted to raise it upon the Inhabitants, who being either unable or unwilling to furnish such a Sum, accepted of *Gelo's* Proposals.

§. 11. I think this Account of *Gelo's* Treatment of the *Megarenfians*, by far the most pro-

^g Her. ib. c. 156.

ⁱ Polyæ. l. 27.

^h Thuc. l. 6. p. 198.

bable. *Herodotus* writes, that when *Gelo* had reduc'd their City into his Hands, he treated the most powerful and richest Citizens, who had the greatest Hand in the War, and who had expected the severest Treatment, with a great deal of Gentleness, and settled them advantageously at *Syracuse*. But the meaner People, innocent of the War, and therefore deserving no Punishment, were carried indeed to *Syracuse*, but sold there for Slaves, and transported out of *Sicily*. *Herodotus* adds, that *Gelo* acted after the same Manner to the *Eubæan* Nobility and Populace. The Reason of this Injustice he attributes to a Hatred *Gelo* had for the People, who he thought made a City very uneasy for a Tyrant. This Reason, so disagreeable to *Gelo's* Character, who affected Popularity extremely, and was as popular a Tyrant as any we read of, may easily render these Stories suspected, coming from an Author, who is used to think disadvantageously of that Prince.

§. 12. But though *Syracuse* was increas'd prodigiously by these Methods, yet the Care *Gelo* took to improve the Manners of the Inhabitants, was a vastly greater Obligation. ¹ The *Syracusans* were naturally inclin'd to Idleness; they spent their Time in mean Diversions, and their Talkativeness and Love of Scoffing, had

¹ Plut. Apophth. p. 175. &c. qui sero a Num. puniuntur p. 551, 552.]

Effects more fatal than might be at first expected from so impertinent a Vice. *Gelo* reform'd at least for his Time all these Faults. He had for the most Part of his Reign, Wars enough to keep his Subjects in Exercise; but when he was at Leisure from the Enemy, he led them out in great Numbers, and imploy'd them in tilling and manuring the Country. By this Means preventing the ill Effects of Idleness, he made them soon as remarkable for their modest Carriage and Industry, as they had been always before for the contrary Vices. He improv'd at the same time a Land which wanted only Hands, to be made the most fruitful in the World; and ^m he was able to make a generous Present of a large Quantity of Corn to the *Romans*, at a Time when their City was almost ruin'd by a Famine and a Discord which attended it.

§. 13. Such Actions as these could not fail of gaining *Gelo* the Affections of all such as had Sense enough to know their own Interest, and some other Acts of his Reign, made his Popularity as universal as it was just. ⁿ He had Occasion in some of his Wars for a larger Sum of Money than the *Syracusans* were willing to spare. They receiv'd their Prince's Demands with Murmurs; and instead of granting them, broke out into open Tumults. *Gelo*, far from resenting their Carriage, desir'd them to be easy, for he intend-

^m Plut. in Corio. Dion. Hal. l. 8. ⁿ Plut. Apoph. p. 175.
ed

ed only to borrow the Money, and would repay it as soon as the War was over. He was as good as his Word ; and upon the happy Conclusion of his Enterprize, restor'd his People all they had given him.

§. 14. Yet after all he thought it impolitick to depend too much upon the good Will of a People, that had no very great Reputation for Constancy. A firm Alliance with a powerful Neighbour, was a very proper additional Security. ° *Theron*, Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, was a Prince of great Valour and Merit, and of a Strength next to *Gelo's* own, the greatest in *Sicily*. He enter'd therefore into the strictest Confederacy with him, which he confirm'd, by marrying his Daughter *Demarata*, and persuading *Theron* to marry the Daughter of his own younger Brother *Polyzelus*. He had by this Means all the Power of *Sicily* very much at his Command, and is not improperly call'd by some Authors, not only the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, but of the whole Island.

§. 15. P The next Olympick Games, after *Gelo* was in Possession of *Syracuse*, which was the third Year of his Tyranny, he gain'd the Prize at the Chariot Race; an Honour Tyrants were in that Age proud of contending for, and which his Father-in-Law *Theron*, and Brother *Hiero* attain'd to. His Chariot and Statue, both the

° Schol. Pind. Olym. 2. init.

P Paus. 1. 7. p. 699.

Work of *Glaucias*, were remaining at *Olympia* several Ages after. They were inscrib'd, *The Gift of Gelo, the Son of Dinomenes of the City of Gela*. 'Tis very surprizing, that the Author, who has given us the Account of the Gift and Inscription, should have chosen rather to suppose another *Gelo* of the same Age and Country, whose Father too was of the same Name with the Tyrant's Father, than to think the Gift his, and this upon no better Reason, than his supposing the Tyrant would have call'd himself a *Syracusan*, from the City he govern'd. The other Inscription was more just as well as modest. 'Twas usual for the Conquerors to be known by their native City; and *Gelo* had no Reason to break that Rule, and put the *Greeks* in mind of his Tyranny, a Character not so amiable in those Days, as it was afterwards.

§. 16. ^a It was not long after this, that *Gelo* desir'd the Assistance of the *Grecians*, in a War he was engag'd in with the *Carthaginians*, the antient and hereditary Enemies of *Sicily*, and at that time very powerful. The more easily to obtain the Succours he desir'd, he promis'd he would revenge the Death of *Doricus*, a *Spartan* Prince, upon the *Ægestans*, who had murther'd him; and would aid the *Greeks* in freeing the Sea-ports for the Advantage of their Commerce. All these Proffers were ineffectual. The *Greeks*,

^a Herod. l. 7. c. 158.

who

who thought *Gelo* great enough already, were unwilling to have any hand in increasing his Power, and uncivilly enough sent away his Embassadors without any Forces, or Hopes of any. *Gelo* had however no Occasion for their Assistance, and was able without it to oppose his Enemy with good Success.

§. 17. ¹ The *Greeks* had soon the Mortification of being oblig'd to beg of *Gelo* the Favour they had deny'd him. *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, mov'd by Ambition, and a Desire of revenging the Shame of his Nation, and his Father, at the Battle of *Marathon*, had rais'd an innumerable Army, and was marching at the Head of it to invade *Greece*. All the Forces the *Greeks* could raise, did not bear the least Proportion to their Invaders. They lay therefore under a Necessity of seeking all manner of Assistance; and as there was no Prince, from whom they could hope for any, that could aid them so effectually as *Gelo's*; the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and other confederate *Greeks*, sent to inform him of their Condition, to beg a powerful Succour, and to press him from his Glory and Interest to save a Country, which he ought to think his own, and the Ruin of which would certainly prepare the Way for the Loss of his Dominions too.

§. 18. ² 'Twas natural to expect some Reproaches from *Gelo* for their former Usage; and

¹ Herod. ib. c. 157.

² Herod. ib. c. 158.

indeed

indeed he could not forbear letting them know, that those who were now so much in Fear of being over-run by *Barbarians*, had refused any Assistance to him against them. 'Tis not your Fault, *Grecians*, says he, that all I now possess was not long ago in the Hands of the *Barbarians*; now the War is come home to your selves, you can remember *Gelo*, yet I will not imitate a Contempt which was so criminal in you. He went on to tell them he was ready to bring them in Person two hundred Ships, twenty thousand Foot-Soldiers, two thousand Horse, as many Light-Horse, besides two thousand Slingers and Archers. But in Consideration of so great a Supply, he thought it but reasonable, that he should be declar'd General of *Greece*.

§. 19. * The *Spartan* Ambassador had hardly Patience to hear him out, and assur'd him, that his Countrymen, far from desiring his Assistance on those Terms, would never be reduc'd to admit it, unless their Superiority was acknowledg'd, a Superiority they had been always in Possession of in every *Grecian* Expedition. He said this with a great deal of Warmth, and *Gelo* having gently reprov'd him for it, said, he had another Proposal to make, He would consent the *Lacedemonians* should command by Land, if they would take Care he should be own'd as Admiral; or if they chose the Command of the Sea,

* Herod. ib. c. 159, & 160.

he would be declar'd Supreme by Land. This Alternative was the least he could insist upon, and unless it was accepted of, he would neither bring himself, nor send any Forces to their Assistance.

§. 20. ^w The Ambassador of the *Athenians* hastily assured *Gelo*, that his Masters could not consent to the Alternative he propos'd. They had been always the most considerable of *Greece* by Sea; and though perhaps they might own the *Spartans* as their Superiors in any Wars all *Greece* was engag'd in, they should always claim a Right of being own'd Commanders at Sea, if the *Lacedemonians* desisted from their Pretensions. The King smil'd, and told them, he perceiv'd the *Greeks* had Commanders enough; but he was afraid they were in some Danger of wanting Soldiers.

§. 21. This Account of the *Grecian* Embassy, is given us by *Herodotus*; and if it may be depended upon, 'tis certain that the Concern the Ambassadors shew'd for the Honour of their Countries, a Principle highly commendable, carried them to Excesses a little bordering upon Insolence. *Gelo* would not have been very much to be blam'd, if he had refus'd to concern himself in the Fortune of a People, that could not treat him civilly, even while they begg'd his

^w Herod. ib. c. 161.

Assistance. Accordingly the * Historian adds, that when *Xerxes* had pass'd the *Hellepont*, *Gelo* sent one *Cadmus* with three Vessels, and a considerable Sum of Money, to wait the Event of the War; and if it should be advantageous to the *Persian* King, to offer him the Money, and to do Homage to him in his Prince's Name; if the *Greeks* were superior, he was order'd to return, as he did. *Herodotus* owns that these last Particulars are contradicted by the *Sicilian* Writers, who all agree that *Gelo* promis'd, and intended to assist the *Grecians*, if he had not been prevented by a War, as dangerous as theirs, brought home to himself, and as glorious to him in the Event, as theirs afterwards prov'd. We have a great many Reasons to think the Account of the *Sicilians* truer than that of *Herodotus*, which no other Writer, that we know of, has thought fit to follow.

§. 22. According to those Authors then, about the same time that *Gelo* receiv'd the *Grecian* Embassy, and answer'd it with Promises of a powerful Succour, y the *Carthaginians* receiv'd Embassadors from *Persia* and *Phœnicia*, which enjoin'd them to set sail immediately with the largest Fleet they and their Allies could raise, to attack the *Greeks* in *Sicily*; and after they had con-

* Herod. ib. c. 163, 164. y Ephor. apud Scho. Pind. Pyth. 1. ad γ. ἡλλάδ' ἐξέλκων. Diod. Sic. Olymp. 75. 1. p. 252. Ed. H. Steph.

quer'd that Island, which 'twas suppos'd, from the Forces they were Masters of, would be in a very little time, to sail to *Peloponnesus*, to join the Fleet of *Persia*. The *Carthaginians* readily and speedily comply'd with a Message so agreeable to their Ambition, and Hatred of the *Sicilians*. They sent to the *Etrurians* for Assistance, and readily obtained it. ^a *Herodotus* says too, they had Forces from *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, from the *Phoenicians*, *Iberians*, and other Nations.

§. 23. Besides this, they were assur'd of a Party in *Sicily* itself. *Theron*, Tyrant of *Agri-gentum*, having driven *Terillus*, Tyrant of *Himera*, out of his Dominions, that Prince fled to *Carthage*, and to engage the *Carthaginians* in his Cause, not only promis'd them his own Interest in *Sicily*, but an Assistance from his Father-in-Law *Anaxilaus*, Tyrant of *Rhegium*. *Anaxilaus*, to convince the *Carthaginians* of his standing to what his Son-in-Law had promis'd for him, gave his two Sons as Pledges to *Amilcar*. He was a General of the greatest Reputation in *Carthage*, and was besides that the fittest ^b Person to command in this Expedition, as his Mother was a Native of *Sicily*, and he could not fail of having several Friends in that Island.

§. 34. ^c *Amilcar* then took the Command of three hundred thousand Land Forces, two thou-

^a Herod. ib. c. 165.
p. 253.

^b Herod. c. 166.

^c Diod. Sic.

and long Ships, and above 3000 lesser Vessels, that carried Ammunition and Provision. As soon as he was got out of the *Lybian* Sea, he met with a violent Storm, in which he lost those Boats that carried his Cavalry and Chariots. Without any other Damage he landed at *Panormus*, and in three Days time got all his Army on Shore: He told his Soldiers the War was now over; he had been afraid the Sea would have fought for the *Sicilians*, and have sav'd them the only Way that was possible. After a short Stay, till the Damage his Fleet had suffer'd in the Storm was repair'd, he marched to *Himera*, his Fleet sailing thither at the same time.

§. 25. *Theron* had thrown himself into the Town with a large Body of Forces; and as soon as the *Carthaginians* approach'd it, he sallied out and attacked them with Vigour. The *Sicilians* were repuls'd with great Loss, and *Amilcar* besieg'd the City in Form. He had two Camps, one for his Land-Forces, the other for his large Ships which he drew on Shore. The Camp for his Fleet was surrounded with a Ditch and a wooden Wall; that for his Land-Forces join'd to that Wall, and extended to some Hills that lay near, and was entrench'd over-against the Town. After this the General unloaded all the small Vessels, and sent the greatest Part of them to fetch more Supplies from *Libya* and *Sardinia*. Then he push'd on the Siege with the ut-

most Vigour, and having defeated the Garrison in all their Sallies, he soon reduc'd the *Himeræans* to Despair. *Theron* himself dispirited, by seeing his Forces in such a Condition, sent the most pressing Letters to *Syracuse*, to beg of his Son-in-Law an hasty Succour.

§. 26. *Gelo* had already made great Preparation for the Assistance that was desir'd of him, and the Letters he receiv'd increasing his Haste, he immediately put himself at the Head of his Army. The Number of his Forces is related with great Variety. Those who make it the largest, say he brought into the Field fifty thousand ^d Foot, and five thousand Horse; and when one considers the vast Superiority of the Enemy, and *Gelo's* Success, one would not be apt to imagine he had much less. Those however are in all Probability mistaken, who don't give him above a third or fourth Part of that Number. He march'd his Army with all possible Speed to *Himera*, and his Presence gave new Courage to the Inhabitants.

§. 27. *Gelo* took Care not to disappoint their Hopes, and having encamp'd near the Town in an advantageous Place, and fortified his Camp, so as to have nothing to fear from the Insults of the Enemy, he sent all his Horse about the Country. There were great Numbers of the *Carthaginians* employ'd in ravaging, and 'twas

^d Diod. Sic.

easy enough for Troops, that were Natives of the Island, and perfectly acquainted with it, to surprize Strangers that were intirely unprepar'd for them. Besides those they kill'd, *Gelo's* Horse brought into *Himera* ten thousand Prisoners, with very inconsiderable Loss on their Side.

§. 38. These Troops that were thus defeated, were probably the worst in the *Carthaginian* Army, and I don't know to what other Time, so well as to this, we can refer what is told us, that *Gelo* having a large Number of Prisoners, pick'd out the weakest of them, who were Auxiliaries, mostly tauny, and of a very despicable Appearance, and expos'd them quite naked before his Soldiers, that they might have the most contemptible Notions of their Enemy.

§. 29. ^f 'Tis certain that the Inhabitants of *Himera* were quite recover'd out of their Fear by these Successes, and began to have a perfect Contempt for an Enemy whom they saw so easily defeated. *Gelo* improving this Opinion of theirs, ventur'd to open again some Gates which *Theron*, in the first Terrors of the People, had been forced to wall up. He open'd too several new Gates, in such Parts of the Wall as were most convenient for bringing such Things into the City, as they might have Occasion for.

§. 30. Yet notwithstanding these Advantages, *Gelo* was far from being in a Condition to come

^e Frontin. l. 11.

^f Diqd. Sic.

to an Engagement with an Enemy vastly superior, and was waiting impatiently for an Opportunity of attempting something with Safety; when his Horse, whom he continued sending about the Country, brought to him a Messenger from the *Selinuntians*, who was carrying Letters to *Amilcar*, that acquainted him they would send him the Horse he demanded on such a Day as he had mentioned. *Gelo* learn'd too that *Amilcar* was to spend that Day with his Fleet in solemn Sacrifices to *Neptune*. He was not long without resolving on a Stratagem, which he thought this Knowledge and Opportunity might make successful.

§. 31. § He sent his Horse away early to ride about the Country, that they might be admitted into the Camp, as coming from the *Selinuntians*. If they were admitted, they were to ride directly to the Place where the General was sacrificing, to kill him, and set the Ships on Fire. *Gelo* kept all his Forces under Arms, and plac'd Spies, who were to give him a Signal as soon as ever they should see the *Sicilian* Horse admitted into the Enemies Camp. The Design succeeded as he expected. The Horse came to the Camp of the Fleet by Sun-rising, and being receiv'd by the Centinels as Allies, rode full Speed to the General, who was already employ'd about the Devotion of the Day; kill'd him, and in the

§ Diod. Sic. p. 254.

Confusion such an Action rais'd, easily set the Ships on Fire.

§. 32. *Gelo*, having by this time been inform'd by the Signals, of his Cavalry's being within the Fleet, drew out all the rest of his Forces against the Enemies Camp. The *Phœnicians*, who commanded in that Part he was going to attack, came out to meet him. They knew nothing of what was doing in the Fleet, and fought with a Vigour, which made the Success of the Battle doubtful for a good while. But the Flame of the Ships appearing on a sudden, and Messengers coming to the *Phœnicians* with an Account of the General's Death, the Face of the Battle was presently alter'd. The *Carthaginians* fled on all Sides, and *Gelo* considering the Vastness of their Numbers, which might yet be fatal to him, if they recover'd from their present Confusion, order'd his Forces to give no Quarter.

§. 33. Not less than one hundred and fifty thousand perish'd in the Flight. The Remainder escap'd to an Eminency, where they defended themselves so well, that the *Sicilians* were not able to force them. But the Hill proving to be destitute of Water, they were forc'd in a little time to come down and surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion.

§. 34. ^b Never was any Defeat more intire, and never till that Time had any *Grecian* General

^b Diod. Sic.

flain more Barbarians in a Day, or taken so many Prisoners. If the Action be compared, as it had been with those of *Plataea* and *Salamis*, the Conquest of neither of those Days was so complete. The *Sicilians* are of Opinion, that the Stratagems of their Monarch may be very reasonably oppos'd to those of *Themistocles*, and his Valour to that of *Pausanias*; and if the Characters of those Generals be examin'd, *Gelo's* Merit was vastly superior to that of one of them, and his Fortune to that of both.

§. 35. 'Tis remarkable, that the same Day on which *Gelo* gain'd his Victory, the *Grecians* too defeated the *Persians*. But 'tis a little surprising, that it should not be certainly known whether the Battle of *Himera* was fought on the Day of the Fight of *Salamis*, or on that of *Thermopylae*. The *Sicilian* Writers place it on the last of these Days; ⁱ *Herodotus* on the first. If one was oblig'd to determine for one Side, it should be in Favour of the *Sicilians*. *Herodotus* is the more antient, and ought to have been the best inform'd of what happen'd so near his Time; but 'tis plain, by the Errors he has committed in this Story, corrected by his Contemporaries themselves, that he did not think it worth his while to inform himself of the exactest Truth, or, which is worse, did not concern himself to follow it. And the Account of the *Sicilians* has this Advantage, that

ⁱ Herod. l. 7. c. 166.

Gelo appears to have been longer ignorant of the Success of the *Greeks* at *Salamis*, than he can well be suppos'd to have been, if it had happen'd on the same Day with his own Victory.

§. 36. ^k Out of all the large Ships the *Carthaginians* sail'd with into *Sicily*, twenty only escap'd burning; they took in a considerable Number of such as fled from the Battle, and being overladen, were all lost in a Storm. Only a very few escaping in a long Boat, arrived safe at *Carthage*, with the News of the Success their Companions had met with. The *Carthaginians* were distracted with their Grief and Fear, at a Reverse they had so little expected. Unable to resist *Gelo*, if he should attempt to land in *Africa*, they trembled for their own City, and took Care every Night to guard their Gates with as much Caution, as if the Conqueror had been before them already.

§. 37. That Prince, after having rewarded the Horsemen that kill'd *Amilcar*, and such other Soldiers as had distinguish'd themselves in the Battle, reserv'd the richest of the Spoils to be placed in some *Syracusan* Temples; several of them he dispos'd among the Temples of *Himera*, the rest divided among his Forces, and those of his Confederates, in Proportion to their Number. All *Sicily* profited by this Division of the Slaves, who were generally employ'd in publick

^k Diod. Sic. p. 255.

Works, and particularly in building. The *Aggrigentines* had the greatest Number of Captives; for, besides the Share their Soldiers had, they made several Prisoners, who had fled, after the Loss of the Battle, into their Territories. We are assur'd, that some single Men had five hundred Slaves for their Share. Their City therefore, and all the Country round it, increas'd in Buildings and Ornaments of every Nature, by the Hands of their Enemies.

§. 38. ¹ *Gelo* having dismiss'd his Allies, return'd with his own Troops and the Captives that fell to his Share, to *Syracuse*. He was follow'd thither by Embassadors from several *Sicilian* Towns and Princes, that had been in the Interest of the Enemy, and had sent now to beg Pardon for their Crime, and to promise a strict Obedience for the future, to what should be commanded them by *Gelo*. He receiv'd them as a Man that merited all his good Fortune by his Moderation and Humanity in using it, and had soon after an Opportunity of shewing those Virtues in all their Lustre, when a solemn Embassy arrived from *Carthage*.

§. 39. The Embassadors, with the greatest Submission, and with Floods of Tears, begg'd a Peace, and conjur'd him not to abuse his Power, to complete the Ruin of their unfortunate City. Having so favourable an Opportunity of pursu-

¹ *Diod. p. 256.*

ing a Revenge, which might even be justified; *Gelo* seemed to have no other Passion for them but Pity. The only Reparation he demanded was, the Charges of the War, which amounted to two thousand Talents, and two new Ships; ^m he added to these Articles another, which he made as necessary as either of the former, that the *Carthaginians* should abolish those barbarous Sacrifices of young Men, whom they us'd to offer up to *Saturn*, at least every Year. A noble Instance of the most generous and tender Regard for Mankind, and which alone might deserve the Praises, Posterity has so justly paid to his Memory!

§. 40. The *Carthaginians*, who had come prepar'd for harder Usage, were surpris'd at the Mildness of the Terms impos'd upon them, and made all possible Haste to perform the Treaty. The Queen was thought to have influenc'd *Gelo* to such moderate Usage, and upon this Account, the Embassadors brought her for a Present a golden Crown of one hundred Talents. This the Queen coin'd into a new sort of Money, call'd from her Name *Damaretion*.

§. 41. Having settled Affairs at home so happily, *Gelo* prepar'd to sail to the Assistance of *Greece*. Every Thing was now ready for the Expedition, when Ships arrived from *Corinth*,

^m Plut. Apoth. 175. & de his qui ferò a Num. puniuntur. p. 552.

with

with certain Advice, that the *Persians* were defeated at *Salamis*, and their King, with a very great Part of the Forces he had yet left, was fled out of *Europe*. This News put a Stop to the Design; but before *Gelo* discharg'd the Forces he had rais'd, he summon'd them all arm'd to an Assembly.

§. 42. ⁿ When they were thus met, *Gelo* came among them, not only unarm'd, but without an upper Coat, having on a looser Garment. As the People were surpris'd at this Sight, he made a pretty long Speech to them; he gave them an Account of all his Life, and particularly of his Carriage to the *Syracusians*, he enter'd into some Detail of his Actions as a General; he answer'd all the Objections he had heard made to any Part of his Conduct; he was come now unarm'd and defenceless, to offer himself up to the strictest Examination; he gave himself into his Peoples Power; he desir'd not the Continuance of his Rule, nor of his Life it self, if they thought that his Removal would be for their Advantage.

§. 43. This seems to be the truest Account of a Story that is told with some Variety. This generous Artifice of *Gelo* met with the Success he expected. The People, after they were recover'd from their Amazement, with universal Acclamation, proclaim'd him their Benefactor, their

ⁿ Diod. Sic. p. 256. See different Accounts in Polyæ. Strat. l. 27. Ælian. 13. 37. & 6. 11.

Saviour,

Saviour, their King, and begg'd him to punish all his Enemies as he pleas'd: A Liberty he made no Use of! To preserve the Memory of this Action, the *Syracusians* erected a Statue of their Prince, in the loose Habit he then wore, in the Temple of *Juno*.

§. 44. ° After this *Gelo* built two noble Temples, the one to *Ceres*, and the other to *Proserpine*, out of the *Carthaginian* Spoils. He caus'd too a Tripod of Gold, of sixteen Talents, to be made out of them, and sent it to the Temple at *Delphi*, as an Acknowledgment of his Gratitude to the God ador'd there.

§. 45. If the following Inscription may be depended on as genuine, there were more Tripods than one sent thither in the Name of *Gelo* and his Brothers, who had all of them a great Share in the Successes they gave Thanks for.

P *The Illustrious Offspring of Dinomenes,
As once in Valour, in Devotion join :
To Phœbus, and the guardian Powers of Greece,
They offer up these Tripods at their Shrine.
The Chiefs unaided, the wild Fury bore
Of barbarous Nations, by their Arms o'erthrown ;
Nor only fought for fair Sicilia's Shore,
But fix'd the publick Safety with their own.*

° Diod. Sic. p. 256.
v. τὸν ἰδὲ γὰρ.

P Schol. Pind. ad Pyth. 1.

§. 46. ¹ *Gelo* began a Temple to *Ceres* at *Ætna*, but was prevented from finishing it by his Death, which happen'd two Years after his Victory, at a Time, when his Glory was at the highest, and when he was the most belov'd by his Subjects. One of the last Actions of his Life was, the making Laws to restrain the excessive Pomp and Expences of the *Syracusan* Funerals; and he gave a Sanction to his new Constitutions, by ordering his own Burial to be perform'd exactly according to them. He was ill for a long time of a Dropsy, and when he perceiv'd his Death approaching, he declar'd his elder Brother *Hiero* Successor.

§. 47. His Body was buried in a Field of his Wife's, called afterward the nine Turrets, because there were nine Turrets erected there, Works of a considerable Greatness. The Place was two hundred *Stadia* from *Syracuse*. Yet all the Town attended their Prince's Body thither, to pay their last Duty to his Memory. They erected a sumptuous Monument, and honour'd him as an Hero. The *Carthaginians* afterwards, by a poor Revenge, destroy'd the Tomb of their Conqueror; and *Agathocles*, envying the Virtues he was not dispos'd to imitate, pluck'd down the Turrets. But the *Sicilians* did not need such Monuments to preserve in them a grateful Sense of their Obligation to him. ² They shew'd a

¹ Diod. Sic. Olym. 75. an. 3. p. 262.

² Plut. in Timot.
great

great Instance of their Gratitude at the Time of their Deliverance from the Tyranny of the younger *Dionysius* by *Timoleon*. When the Ills they suffer'd from Tyranny were fresh, and their Value for a new Liberty the greatest, they pull'd down the Statues of all their other Tyrants, and left only *Gelo's* standing.

§. 48. ^s *Timæus* writes, that *Gelo* left his Wife *Damarata* to his Brother *Polyzelus*. I don't know whether the Silence of *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* is not a better Argument against the Story, than the Authority of the other can be for it. 'Tis however certain, that *Polyzelus* was a Person of great Merit, the most resembling *Gelo* of any of his Brothers, and so belov'd in *Syracuse*, that *Hiero* could hardly think himself secure while he liv'd. He gave him therefore a Commission, which he had taken some Measures to make fatal to him. His Brother discover'd the Design, and fled to *Theron*, who generously protected him, and enter'd into a War with *Hiero* upon his Account. That War however was soon compos'd, and the Brothers reconcil'd.

§. 49. *Hiero* was a Prince of considerable Valour and Reputation. He made War in *Sicily* and *Italy* with great Success. He was several times Conqueror at the *Olympick* and *Isthmian* Games. But his most distinguishing Praise was

^s Apud Schol. in Pind. Olymp. 2.. v. τῶν δὲ πρῶτων
Diod. Sic. Olymp. 76: Year 1. p. 267.

his Love to Learning and learned Men. His Court was the Retreat of all that was great in Wit; and while the Names of *Pindar* and *Simonides* are known, *Hiero* will be known too as one of the most generous Patrons of the Muses that ever was. *Pindar* is never weary of his Praises; and were they less liable to Suspicion, *Hiero* must be own'd to have been a greater and a better Prince, not only than his Brother, but than most Kings of Antiquity. History more impartial to Merit, has done Justice to the Character of the † Brothers, and has inform'd us, that *Hiero* was as much inferior to *Gelo* in all other Respects, as he was superior to him in Politeness. Liberal only to such Authors, by whom he thought to purchase Fame and Immortality; in all other Respects he indulg'd a Covetousness which was natural to him. That Vice made him guilty of several Acts of Violence and Injustice. The *Syracusians* often meditated Revenge, and 'twas only the Memory of *Gelo*, that preserv'd his Brother upon the Throne.

§. 50. " But all the Peoples Respect for *Gelo* could not hold out against the Tyranny of *Thrasylbulus*, *Hiero's* Brother and Successor, who had no other tolerable Quality but a brutal Valour. He began his Reign with the Murder and Banishment, and confiscating of the Estates

† Diod. Sic. p. 276. Olym. 78. y. 3.

‡ Diod. p. 257.

of some of the principal Citizens of *Syracuse*. He rais'd a large Body of foreign Guards, and got himself expell'd first the City, and after some faint Efforts, out of the Island it self, before he had finish'd the first Year of his Reign.

§. 51. The Liberty of the *Sicilians* was not long-liv'd. They suffer'd under *Agathocles*, and the *Dionysii*, all they fear'd from *Thrasybulus*. 'Twas two Ages after that they were happy in a Prince descended from *Gelo's* Family, and Heir to all his Virtues. In *Hiero* they found again what they had lost in his Ancestor; and if the Misfortunes of his Times, and the over-grown Power of his Neighbours made it impossible for him to be the greatest, he disputed with *Gelo* the Praise of being the best King of *Sicily*.

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C Y R U S.

§. I. **S**UCH Men as are inclin'd to think there is little certain in History, can never meet with an Instance more proper to confirm them in their Sentiments, than the Life of *Cyrus*. The Actions of that illustrious Conqueror were so fit a Subject for Writers to exercise their Art in, and the Influence his immediate Successors had upon *Greece* in those Times, in which it abounded with its best Historians, was so great, that one could hardly think it possible that we should want a satisfactory Account of him. We are not indeed left in perfect Ignorance as to his Conquests; but the Time, the Order, the Motives of them, the Birth, the Parentage, the Death of the Conqueror himself, are almost as uncertain as those of the most fabulous Heroes. *Herodotus*, *Xenophon* and *Ctesias*, Authors, who lived within an hundred Years after *Cyrus's* Death, have each of them given us a large Account of his Life and

and Actions, but surprisingly different from one another. Authors, in future Ages, have follow'd one or other of these Writers, according as their Inclinations, rather than their Reason, seem to have led them, and in so great a Darkness, have thought their Fancy a sufficient Guide.

§. 2. *Herodotus*, who wrote a little earlier than the other two Historians, seems to have had in view almost intirely the History of *Persia*. What he writes of other Nations, is only by way of Digression, and to make his Account of the *Persians* more clear. Short on other Subjects, on the Reigns of the *Persian* Princes, he enters into the most particular and exact Detail. Unhappily for us his whole History is written with an Air that gives us too much Reason to doubt of his Sincerity. He is not only the Father of Historians, but of Romances too, and has been in all Ages accused with too much Justice of having employ'd the Ornaments of the finest Stile, and the most agreeable Manner of Writing to imbellish Falshood. He forsakes continually the *True* for the *Wonderful*; and if the Accusations of a *Plutarch* were well grounded, he has even in his latest Accounts of Things he could hardly be ignorant of, given himself a Liberty which can never be excused. The History of the Birth and Education of *Cyrus* in particular,

* In his Treatise of the Malice of Herodotus.

has something intirely romantick in it; nor is that of his Death much more probable. The Strangeness of the Stories, which ought to have made them suspected to other Writers, has been the Cause they have been so generally related. They flatter the Weakness of a Reader and a Writer too, the one is pleas'd with Things that raise his Admiration, and the other, that he is able to raise it.

§. 3. *Xenophon* had Opportunities of being acquainted with the *Persian* Affairs, much more exactly than *Herodotus* could pretend to be. His Concern in the Expedition of the younger *Cyrus*, and the glorious Retreat of those ten thousand *Greeks*, whom he headed with such vast Reputation, through the *Persian* Dominions, could not fail of informing of Particulars, either unknown, or but imperfectly known to the other Historian. Besides, History was a little reform'd in the Years between *Herodotus's* Writing and his. *Thucydides* had shewn the World, that a Relation could be agreeable without being false, and made Men almost think that Truth was a necessary Quality in an Historian. *Xenophon* himself had continued that Author's Work with the strictest Regard to Veracity; and nothing was ever related with more apparent Faithfulness, than the Facts in his History of *Greece*, and of the Retreat. Had he written the Life of *Cyrus* with as evident Fidelity, Posterity could have

have desir'd nothing more to complete their Knowledge of that great Prince. But besides his constant insisting on his Praises, he is so particular, and, if I may dare say it, something tedious in his long Speeches and Conversations, which must infallibly be feign'd, and which yet make up the greatest Part of his Work, that it has been pretty generally believ'd, that 'twas not so much a true ^b History he intended to write, as to give, in the imagin'd Portraiture of *Cyrus*, which he has made so completely beautiful, a Pattern for all other Princes in succeeding Ages.

§. 4. But neither *Xenophon* nor *Herodotus* had half the Advantages of *Ctesias*. He was a Physician, who attended *Cyrus* the Younger in his Expedition as well as *Xenophon*, and being taken Prisoner in that Action wherein his Master perish'd, he employ'd his Skill in curing a Wound of *Artaxerxes* the King of *Persia*; that Success gain'd him an honourable Establishment in the *Persian* Court, where he remain'd near the King's Person seventeen Years. In that Time he wrote the History of *Persia*. Whether his so long Stay in the East spoil'd his Taste, and turn'd him to an Admirer of the Fables so much in Fashion there, or whether his Love of Falshood were natural to him, this is certain, that Fables themselves were never half so fabulous as

^b See Cic. ad. Q. Trat. 1. 1. Ep. 1. §. 8.

his Histories. He seems to have follow'd no other Guide in his Writings, but the surprising; and if he ever found any Thing more completely out of the Way, or most contradictory to other Historians, he never fails of relating it. He had therefore few Followers in his *Persian* Histories; and it seems a little strange, that in his more antient Relations of the *Medes* and the *Assyrians*, where he had Liberty to give a free Loose to his Temper, he should be so generally follow'd, that it has been reckon'd a Crime in History to disbelieve him, and an unpardonable Infidelity to doubt of Things recorded by so faithful an Historian.

§. 5. 'Tis out of *Herodotus* then and *Xenophon* principally, that we must collect our Accounts of *Cyrus*, that we can in the least depend on. When those Authors agree, as they often do, we have no Reason to doubt of the Certainty of their Relations. Where they differ, if 'tis in Things purely indifferent, and no ways relating to the Praise of *Cyrus*, it may be reasonable to follow *Xenophon*, who, we are sure, could be better inform'd, and whose Accounts in those Cases are generally most distant from any Thing that is fabulous. The Order of *Cyrus's* Wars, which is evidently neglected in *Herodotus*, may be better taken out of that Author, and some necessary Additions made to his Life, which the other Historian did not pretend to give a perfect
Ac-

Account of. Though 'tis hardly possible to make a certain Distinction in *Xenophon* between every Thing that he has added, for the embellishing of his Hero's Character, and what he found in History, 'tis not difficult to make a probable one; and if a Life, written after this manner, is not in all Respects true, 'twill be at least the most likely and near to Truth of any we can expect at this Distance of Time.

§. 6. 'Tis agreed by all Writers of Credit, that *Astyages*, King of the *Medes*, was the Grandfather of *Cyrus* the Great. That Prince married his Daughter *Mandana* to *Cambyfes*, a King of *Persia*; but probably such an one as paid some Respect to the *Mede*, a Prince of much greater Power. But his Nobility was considerable enough to make his Alliance desir'd; he was descended of *Achæmenes*, as the *Persian*^d Historians tell us; the *Greeks*, for their own Honour, chose to say from *Perseus*. ' *Cyrus* was born of this Marriage, and was educated as became his Birth. The Education of his Country was intirely proper to form Heroes. The *Persians*, who, after they had had the Kingdom of the *Medes*, and those vast Monarchies *Cyrus* and his Successors conquer'd, added to their own, sunk into an abandon'd Luxury, were in the Times of *Cyrus* as renown'd for the contrary Virtue. The Spar-

^c Xenoph. Cyr. l. 1. c. 2. Yet Ctesias Exc. Ph. denies it. 7

^d Herod. ^e Xen. loc. cit. Diod. Sic. in Exc. Peir. p. 237, 238.

tans themselves were not more severe and regular than they; and there was a very great Resemblance in the Constitutions of the two Nations, who were afterwards the most unlike in the World.

§. 7. All the *Persians* were divided into four Parts, Children, young Men, grown Men, and aged. † These had a publick Court divided too into four Parts, where they were oblig'd, at stated Times to attend. Every Division had twelve Presidents. Those that govern'd the Children were chosen out of the old Men; the Presidents of young Men were generally chosen out of those that were fully grown. These last and the old Men had Presidents out of their own Order. The Children were taught, not as in other Countries, barely trifling Rules of Grammar, though those were not neglected, but the strictest Rules of Justice. Their Governors spent most of their Time in deciding their little Quarrels. Theft and Violence, Fraud and Calumny, were try'd in these Courts, and Punishments inflicted proportionable to the Nature of the Crimes. Those for false Accusers were not the lightest. But Ingratitude was reckon'd the most heinous Crime. An ungrateful Person (thus were the Children taught in their earliest Years) could neither have a due Regard to his Parents, Relations, his Friends, his Country, nor his

† Xen. l. 1. c. 2. *throughout.*

Gods. Thus they imbib'd with Ease, and made almost natural to themselves Principles of the most exact Morality, which Men in other Nations learn with so much Difficulty in their advanced Years; and so very hardly are brought to Practice, when contrary Habits have had Time to prevail and fix themselves. With these Precepts they were taught temperance too, Submission to their Magistrates, and Abstinence in Meat and Drink, from the Rules and Examples of their Presidents. Their Meat was Bread and Herbs, their Drink, Water: Their great Exercises were shooting and darting. This was their Life till sixteen or seventeen, at which Age they began to reckon among the young Men. These in the Day were to attend on the Magistrates or the King, to be employ'd in Messages, in the searching after Criminals, seizing on Robbers, or any other Office that requir'd Strength and Expedition. In the Night they slept about the Palace and Courts, and in their Turns guarded in the City. When the King went a hunting, which was generally once a Month, he was attended upon by half of the young Men. They lived very hardly all that Time, and inur'd themselves before-hand to the Difficulties of War, by an Exercise which seems design'd to form Men for it. At home they continued their Exercises of Shooting, and Darting, and had often publick Games, in which there were Prizes for the Conquerors.

querors. Thus they spent ten Years, after which they were reckon'd complete Men. They at first continue their Attendance on the Magistrates; but if they are qualified, are soon made such themselves. When 'tis necessary, they fight for their Country, and spend twenty-five Years in laborious and honourable Services. By this time they are above fifty, and are call'd old Men. They spend the rest of their Lives at home in a venerable and not unuseful Repose. They are Judges in Civil and Criminal Causes; they instruct the Younger, and censure not only the young Men, but such as are fully grown up, when regularly accus'd before them, by the Heads of their Tribes, into which all the *Persians* were divided; these Men choose the Magistrates, and preserve that Respect, so justly due to Age, and so seldom paid to it. The Number of the *Persians* in the Age of *Cyrus*, did not exceed one hundred and twenty thousand; and none of these was incapable of being chosen to any publick Offices, even to the highest, except such as had not submitted to the publick Education, or had not discharg'd their Parts in every Station of Life with Honour.

§. 8. 8 After these incomparable Rules was *Cyrus* educated, till he was twelve Years old. About that Time his Grandfather *Astyages* desir'd to see his Daughter, and would have her

⁸Xen. l. 1. c. 3. §. 1.

bring

bring her Son with her. ^h She did so, and returning to her Husband, after a short Stay, left *Cyrus* in *Media*. We have not much historical concerning the early Part of his Life. We are told he had a great Indifference and Contempt for the Luxury of the *Median* ⁱ Court, and of all the Diversions of that Country admir'd none but Hunting. In this Sport he often entertain'd himself, and this Exercise gave him the first Opportunity of shewing that Valour he afterwards employ'd in the Conquest of all the East.

§. 9. ^k The young Prince of *Affyria* was about marrying, and as he wanted Beasts for the Sacrifices that were necessary at the Solemnity of his Nuptials, he resolv'd to spend some time in hunting them. The Frontiers of *Affyria* and *Media* were well stock'd with Beasts, which had been long neglected, through the Wars that were very common between the two Nations. The Prince therefore chose those Parts for his Diversion; and to be more secure in it, he invited so many arm'd Men, and took such a Number of Attendants both Horse and Foot, that upon viewing them, he found himself at the Head of a little Army. In Confidence of his Force, he resolv'd not to stand religiously upon Observance of the Country he should hunt in, but to venture a little into the Territories of *Media*. He left all his Foot embattled in good

^h Ib. c. 4. §. 1.

ⁱ Ib. §. 6, &c.

^k Ib. §. 16, 17.
Order

Order on the Frontier, and march'd on with all his Horse towards the Garrisons of the *Medes*. He remain'd near them with the best and greatest Part of his Troops to observe them, and prevent their interrupting his Pleasure by any Sallies. The rest of his Horse he sent out to ravage the Country around for Prey, and drive it from all Parts to him.

§. 10. ¹ As soon as *Astyages* was inform'd of the *Assyrians* entring his Country, he presently put himself at the Head of all the Forces he had about him, and march'd against the Invader. He took *Cyrus* with him, who was not yet sixteen, and was then arm'd for the first time. When the *Medes* came within Sight of the Enemy, they found them drawn up in so good Order, that they were not very eager to attack them. *Cyrus* was uneasy at their Tameness, and begg'd Leave of his Grandfather, that he might take a Party of Horse and fall upon those that were employ'd in plundering, while *Astyages*, with the rest, should face the regular Troops of the Enemy, and prevent their moving to the Assistance of those loose, scatter'd Bodies. The King readily consented; and *Cyrus* immediately attack'd the Plunderers, who were not in a Condition to make any Resistance. He pursu'd them to the Body of Horse, which the Prince himself commanded. Those Troops were drawn up

¹ Ib. §. 18.—24.

in good Order, and began to move towards *Cyrus*, whose Pursuit they thought they should easily stop. But the young Prince, heated with his easy Success, pursued them still; and tho' his own Troops were in all the Disorder of an hasty Pursuit, the Fugitives breaking the Troops that mov'd to their Assistance, he ventur'd to attack that Body too. He broke it with an unexpected Ease; and *Astyages* moving too, keeping the Enemy still in Sight, as ready to assist his Grandson if there should be Occasion, *Cyrus* pursued them with great Slaughter, till they came to the Foot, which they had left on their own Frontiers. He was not in a Condition to attack that large Body, and having already done enough to humble the Enemy, and break their Projects, he return'd to his Grandfather.

§. 11. ^m *Cambyfes* heard this Instance of his Son's early Valour, with an inexpressible Joy, and being no longer able to bear his Absence, sent Messengers to *Astyages* to desire he might be return'd to him: The Request could not be refus'd. Upon *Cyrus's* Return into *Persia*, he went again among his old Companions the Children, submitted to all their Discipline, and spent another Year in Exercises, he had not yet lost a Relish for. After this he was admitted into the Order of the young Men. He spent his ten Years among them, and distinguish'd himself on

^m Ib. §. 25.

ⁿ Xen. 1. 1. c. 5. §. 1.

every Occasion. ° He had now enter'd himself among the grown Men, when he was sent for by his Uncle to those Wars, which ended in the Conquest of all *Asia*.

§. 12. P *Astyages* was now dead, and his only Son *Cyaxares* had succeeded him in the Empire. He had a melancholy Prospect of his Reign, being threaten'd in the very Beginning of it with an *Assyrian* War. The King of that Country was a Prince of great Power, and greater Ambition. He had already join'd all *Syria* to his Dominions, had made the King of the *Arabians* and the *Hyrceanians* his Tributaries, and was engag'd in a War against the *Bactrians*, from which he promis'd himself a Success fatal to the Liberties of all his Neighbours, if the *Medes* should not prevent his Designs. To remove this ¶ Obstacle, he sent Embassadors to *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*, to *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, *Phrygia*, and *India* it self, to engage them in a War against the *Medes* and *Persians*. Those Nations, (his Messengers had Orders to say) powerful in themselves, were united by Marriages and the strictest Alliances. Such an Union could hardly fail of being pernicious to all their Neighbours. They were already become by it too strong for any single Enemy; a Grand Alliance was therefore necessary, and

° Ib. §. 4.

P Ib. §. 2.

¶ Ib. §. 3.

the only Method to break their Force, and avert the impending Danger.

§. 13. The Event shew'd there was a great deal of Truth and Justice in what these Embassadors had in Charge; but to render their Arguments more effectual, they were generally back'd with Presents, which brought over the most obstinate, and convinc'd every one of the Necessity of entering into the desir'd Confederacy. The *Indians* were the only People who seem'd to think themselves unconcern'd. All the other Princes and Nations that were sent to, enter'd into the League, and made such Promises, as left no room for doubting of Success, if they were fulfill'd. * *Cyaxares* was frighted at the gathering Storm, and sent immediately to his Brother-in-Law; for all the Troops he could spare to his Assistance in a War, he was himself so nearly concern'd in. He wrote Letters to *Cyrus* at the same time, in which he conjur'd him to command in Person such Forces as the Assembly of the *Persians* should think fit to send him. * *Cyrus* was accordingly chosen General by the States of the Forces, to be rais'd for the Assistance of *Media*. To raise this Army, they gave him Commission to choose two hundred of the Peers. Every one of these chose four others of the same Order. Every one of

* Ib. §. 4.

* Ib. §. 5.

these was order'd to chuse out of the People ten Targettiers, ten Slingers, and as many Archers. This made up a Body of thirty thousand Men. The Army was not large, but admirably well chosen, and more useful than a much greater Number of common Soldiers.

§. 14. ^t *Cyrus* found his Uncle already at the Head of his Army, which, though very numerous, was much inferior to that his Adversaries were reported to bring against him. ^w The Fame of their Strength encouraged the King of *Armenia*, who was oblig'd to pay Tribute, and send Forces to the *Medes*, to neglect doing either. *Cyrus* thought it of ill Consequence to let such Treachery remain unpunish'd, and being yet at Leisure from the Enemy, whose Forces, which were to be drawn from several distant Nations were not yet assembled, he resolv'd to begin the War by an Action of exemplary Justice. The ^x *Armenians* had no strong Towns, but they had some Mountains almost inaccessible, to which they could easily retire upon the first Notice of an Invasion, and from which they could not be dislodged, without more Time than they had Reason to expect the Confederates would give *Cyaxares*. ^y *Cyrus* took Care to have it openly given out, that he intended a great Hunting on the Frontiers of *Armenia*, while

^t Xen. l. 2. c. 1. §. 2.

^w Ib. c. 4. §. 8.

^x Ib. §. 9.

^y Ib. §. 13.

Cyaxares moved slowly behind with his Army, as if he only intended to visit his Garrisons towards the Frontiers of *Affyria*. *Cyrus* took with him a small Body of Horse; he hunted for two Days, and drew still nearer to the Mountains. Then being inform'd that *Cyaxares's* Army was near, he told the Officers the Design of his Journey, and ordered a Body of Troops to march secretly, and secure the Passes to the Mountains. Then^y he sent a Messenger to the King of *Armenia*, to demand, in *Cyaxares's* Name, the Tribute and Forces he was oblig'd to send him. The^z King, hearing that *Cyrus* was advancing in Person against him, sent his young Children to the Mountains, while he rais'd himself what Forces he could, in order to follow and defend them. They all fell into the Enemies Hands; and the King surpris'd at the News, and uncertain what to do, fled to a Hill, where he was presently surrounded by *Cyrus*, who was now join'd again by the Troops he had plac'd in the Avenues to the Mountains, which he had recall'd thence, as soon as they had done the Business they were sent about.

§. 15. ^a The *Armenian* was easily made sensible, that a Resistance would be to no Purpose; and upon *Cyrus's* summoning him to yield, he came down, and trusted his Cause and his Punishment

^y Ib. §. 18, 19.

^z Xen. l. 3. c. 1. §. 1, 2.

^a Ib. §. 3.

to the Generosity of the Conqueror. ^b *Cyrus* did not abuse his Confidence; he contented himself with demanding that the Tribute he usually paid, should be doubled, and ask'd as much more to be lent him. The *Armenians* were engag'd at that time in a hazardous War with their hereditary Enemies the *Chaldeans*; and *Cyrus*, as soon as inform'd of this, desir'd but half of their Army; the rest he thought would be sufficient for their Defence. The Royal Family, and all his other Prisoners he immediately releas'd unransom'd. The King was surpris'd at so very generous a Treatment; he rais'd the Forces demanded with all possible Haste; he sent him double the Money he desir'd, and rich Presents to *Cyrus* and all his Army.

§. 16. ^c The *Chaldeans* were Inhabitants of the mountainous Parts of *Armenia*; Men of a natural Valour, but intirely rude and undisciplin'd. Their Manner of making War was, to descend at such a Time as the *Armenians* were most secure, ravaging the Country, and when tir'd with Desolation, or in Danger of an Engagement, retreating with their Plunder to their natural Fortresses, which the *Armenians* had always found impregnable. ^d *Cyrus* having inquir'd into these Things, consider'd, that if he could seize on and fortify some important Pass on the *Chaldean* Mountains, he might leave a Garrison there,

^b Ib. §. 19.

^c Ib. c. 2. §. 1.

^d Ib. § 2.

that

that should be a Check upon the *Chaldeans* and *Armenians* too. With this View, upon the Arrival of the *Armenian* Forces, he march'd directly against the *Chaldeans*, and attack'd one of their strongest Hills. The Enemy had left no large Body there, and had thought it enough to order them to send Advice to other Places if they should be attack'd, and defend themselves till they were succour'd. They sent immediately for Aid, and made a Sally upon the *Armenians*, whom they despis'd as a certain and easy Prey. With their usual Success they put them to Flight, and pursued them to the Body of the *Persians*, which having *Cyrus* at their Head, receiv'd them in good Order, sustain'd their Shock, broke them in their Turn, kill'd several, and made most of the rest Prisoners. 'Twas easy after this to seize on the Hills; and ^f *Cyrus*, as soon as he had enquir'd out a fit Place, presently began fortifying. He treated the Captives civilly, and sent them to offer a fair Peace to their Countrymen. The *Chaldeans* being inform'd, that their strongest Passes were in the Enemies Hands, and fortifying against them, consented to a Treaty, the Terms of which were very reasonable, putting them upon a Level with the *Armenians* in all Respects, and uniting them in the strictest Alliance. After the Peace was concluded, they assisted *Cyrus* in finishing his Fort, and great

^e Ib. §. 3, 4, 5.

^f Ib. §. 6. -11.

Numbers of them were hir'd by him. ^g He left a *Mede* Governor of the Garrison, and return'd with his new Forces and Treasures to ^h *Cyaxares*. After having given his Troops a short Repose, he invaded the Territories of *Assyria*.

§. 17. ⁱ *Cyrus* made slow and easy Marches with the Body of his Army, sending out his Horse to ravage the Country on all Sides. In a little time he heard that the *Assyrians* with their Confederates were on their March towards him. When he came near, he found the Enemy entrench'd, and drew up his Forces in order of Battle, but the ^k *Assyrians* did not wait to be attack'd. They came out of their Entrenchments, and began the Onset with great Fury. The *Persians* receiv'd all their Arrows, which were shot from too great a Distance to do them much Mischief; and when the Enemy had pretty well spent their Rage, *Cyrus* order'd his Forces to move on to a closer Engagement. They obey'd his Orders with a Warmth, that quickly broke the Enemy. They pursu'd them into their Entrenchments; they made a Breach there, and enter'd some Forces upon them. The Confusion was inexpressible in the Camp; but the Princes rallying their Troops, and putting themselves at the Head of them, *Cyrus* did not think it proper to attempt a second Combat, and con-

^g Xen. l. 3. c. 3. §. 1.

^h §. 9.—11.

ⁱ §. 12.

^k Ib. §. 26.—30.

tent with the Advantage he had already gain'd, order'd a Retreat to be founded.

§. 18. ¹ *Cyrus* kept his Troops in Order of Battle some time, to see if the Enemy had any Inclinations to venture out of their Trenches ; but their Loss was too considerable to leave them any Thoughts of another Engagement. They had lost several general Officers in the Battle, and Multitudes deserted all the Night. They call'd therefore a Council of War of all the Confederate Princes, and agreed not to remain any longer expos'd to a second Attack, which, considering the dispirited Condition of their Troops, would probably be fatal to them. After this Resolution they left the Camp that very Night, and *Cyrus* being inform'd of their March, enter'd it the next Morning. ^m He found in it vast Quantities of Provision, and great Riches. ⁿ *Cyrus* took some of his Horse, and some *Hyrceanian* Deserters, and pursued the Enemy ; his March turn'd their Retreat into an hasty and disorderly Flight, and *Cyrus* improv'd their Confusion, by cutting off great Numbers of the Fugitives.

§. 19. ^o After this *Cyrus* had all the Country open before him. He remain'd in *Affyria* a long time without Opposition. Several *Affyrian* Noblemen came in to him, glad of an Opportunity to be reveng'd of their Prince, from whose

¹ Xen. l. 4. c. 1. §. 1.—3.

^m Ib. §. 4.

ⁿ Ib. c. 2.

^o Xen. l. 4, & 5.

Insolence they had suffer'd extremely. *Cyrus* took several Castles, and march'd at last towards *Babylon* it self. ^p He summon'd the King of *Assyria* to a single Combat; but that Prince was so far from accepting the Challenge, that he left his ^q Country to the Mercy of the Invader; and taking with him vast Sums of Money, and his richest Treasures, went to the Court of *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*. *Cyrus* was sensible of the Consequence of this Step, and being assur'd it would end in raising him more formidable Enemies, instead of wasting his Forces in the Siege of the Capital, he return'd to the Frontiers of *Media*, whence he first set out against *Assyria*. He disciplin'd his Forces there, augmented his Horse, and waited for the Intelligence his Spies should bring him of the Enemy's Motions.

§. 20. ^r The *Assyrian* could not have apply'd himself to a Prince more powerful than *Cræsus*. To a large paternal Empire he had added vast Acquisitions of his own. He had made himself Master of all the Cities the *Greeks* had built in *Asia*; he had conquer'd *Cilicia*, and *Phrygia*, and was Lord of almost all *Asia Minor*. His Riches were prodigious, and his Ambition as great. He was extremely religious too: He consulted every Oracle that had any Reputation in all the Countries round him; and as that of *Delphis* was the

^p Xen. l. 5. c. 3. §. 4.

^r Herod. l. 1. c. 26.

^q Ib. l. 6. c. 1. §. 15.

most renown'd, he sent thither Presents of an inestimable Value. The Oracle was not ungrateful, and sent him very favourable Answers to his Demands; yet such generally as were capable of a double Interpretation, and might save the God's Credit, if he, good Prince, should chance to be unhappy. He had not suffer'd any considerable Loss in the late League, but in his Reputation. He was inclin'd to revenge that, and the *Assyrian* easily engaged him to form a new Alliance against his Conquerors, and a stronger than the former.

§. 21. Yet he consulted his favourite Oracle, before he would rashly engage himself. The God assur'd him, that after he had past over *Halys*, a River that divided his Territories from *Cappadocia*, he should destroy a vast Empire. With such an Assurance he promis'd himself an infallible Success, which indeed the Vastness of his Power made as likely as the God's Predictions could do. He brought all his ^f *Grecian* Subjects into his League, and sent even to *Sparta* for Assistance. The *Egyptians* aided him too with about one hundred and twenty thousand Men. ^r He put himself at the Head of a vast Army, and crossing the River *Halys*, incamp'd in *Pteria*, from whence he plunder'd all the Country.

^f Xen. l. 6. c. 2. §. 5.

^r Herod. l. 1. c. 75.

§. 22. " *Cyrus's* Army was at first very much dispirited, but he restor'd them to their Courage, by telling them they were marching against a baffled Enemy. The Riches of *Lydia* were a powerful Argument to raise their Valour; and when they consider'd how little they hazarded the losing of, in Proportion of what they must gain if they were Conquerors, they began to be eager to march against the Enemy. *Cyrus* left a third Part of the *Medes* to *Cyaxares*, and with the rest of his Troops began his March. " He sent Messengers to solicit privately the *Ionians* to a Revolt from their Conqueror. The Messengers were ill received. The Forces of *Cræsus* were so great, that the *Ionians* would not make any Efforts to regain their Liberty, when they could expect nothing from them, but a Disappointment, and an heavier Slavery.

§. 23. With the Disposition both the Armies were in, it could not be long before they came to a Battle. The * *Lydian* Cavalry were very numerous; but *Cyrus* was so happy as to improve that Number it self to his Advantage. He had several Camels in his Army, which he order'd to be sent in among the Enemies Horse. As soon as the Enemies Horses saw the Camels at a Di-

" Xen. ib. §. 6. " Her. * Xen. l. 7. c. 1. Herodotus says the first Battle was fought with doubtful Success, and gives an Account of the second Battle much like Xenophon's of this. l. 1. c. 80. Polyæ. l. 7. c. 6. §. 7.

stance, they broke their Ranks, and in a mad Disorder threw down and trampled upon their Riders, and scatter'd a Confusion throughout the Army, which *Cyrus* heighten'd by still attacking where it was greatest. In a little time the Army was intirely broken. ^y Only the *Egyptians* made a noble Defence; deserted by their Friends, they drew themselves into a Body, and waited for all the Rage of the Conqueror. *Cyrus* was concern'd to see such brave Troops devoted to Destruction, and sent to offer them honourable Terms, if they would give up their Arms. They insisted on not being obliged to fight against *Cræsus*, and engag'd to serve the *Persians* against any other Enemy. *Cyrus* consented to their Desire, and took them all into his Service. They settled afterwards in *Persia*, where the King gave them several Towns, which were enjoy'd by their Posterity.

§. 24. ^z *Cræsus* drew off his Army, and with his own Forces retir'd to *Sardis*. Those of other Nations, for the most Part, return'd home, the King consenting to it, after having engag'd them to come to his Assistance in five Months time. He was extremely surpris'd, when *Cyrus*, instead of resting his Troops after the Battle, mov'd on to besiege him in his Capital. The King drew out what Forces he could raise on a sudden from

^y Xen. l. 7. c. 1. §. 19.—21.
§. 1. Herod. l. 1. c. 77.

^z Xen. l. 7. c. 2.

his

his Subjects, and met *Cyrus*, but was easily defeated; and the Conqueror immediately laid Siege to the Town. ^a *Cræsus* sent Messengers to his Allies to beg speedy Succour, but before any of them could come to his Assistance, *Sardis* was taken, the fourteenth Day of the Siege. ^b *Cyrus* finding the Town very strong, made an Attack in a Part of it that was the strongest, and being look'd on as inaccessible, was but weakly guarded. A *Persian* Soldier saw one of the Garrison, who had dropt his Helmet, get down to fetch it, tho' with some Difficulty, and return the Way he came down. As soon as this was known, the *Persians* attempted an Attack there, and enter'd the City, which, notwithstanding *Cyrus's* strict Orders, they immediately began to plunder.

§. 25. ^c The unhappy Prince was taken in the Town; unconcern'd, and negligent of his Safety, he was just ready to fall by the Hand of a common Soldier, when a Son of his, who had been dumb till then, broke out, and charg'd the *Persian* not to kill the King. Upon this he was taken Prisoner, and brought to *Cyrus*. *Xenophon* assures us, that *Cyrus* immediately receiv'd him with the greatest Humanity; but 'tis more generally related, upon the Authority of *Herodotus*, that he order'd him to be burnt alive with fourteen young *Lydians*, either to offer up these as

^a Herod. l. 1. c. 81.

^b Herod. l. 1. c. 85.

^c Herod. &c. 86. A. Gell. l. 5. Val. M. l. 5. c. 4. Ex. 6.

the First-Fruits of his Victory, to some Deity he had vow'd them to, out of a barbarous Religion, not usual among the Antients; or perhaps (as that Author adds) to try if any God would appear in the Deliverance of a Prince, that was so remarkable for his Piety. ^dThe King, prepar'd for Death, call'd thrice with a loud Voice on *Solon*. Upon *Cyrus's* inquiring his Reason for doing this, he told him, that wise *Athenian* had seen his Glory, when it was greatest, and despis'd it, and with a generous Freedom had admonish'd him of the Vanity and Uncertainty of all Happiness below, of which he was now so great an Instance. *Cyrus* heard him with Attention, and presently order'd the Fire which was just kindled, to be extinguish'd. 'Twas easily done, a great Shower of Rain that fell just then, seconding the *Persians* Endeavours. *Cyrus* then ask'd the King the Reasons that engag'd him, uninjur'd, in a War against *Persia*. *Cræsus* laid the Blame on his Fate, and the *Grecian* God, that hurried him on to his Ruin, unthinking, and almost unwilling. The Conqueror took the Answer kindly, and ever after treated him with the greatest Respect, and us'd his Counsel in Affairs of Difficulty and Importance.

§. 26. ^e *Cræsus* gave him an Advice immediately, that was much for his Interest. He saw

^d Herod. Plut. in Solone. Cic. de Fin. l. 3. c. 22.

^e Her. l. 1. c. 88, 89.

the Troops eager on plundering, and ask'd *Cyrus* what they were so busy about. They are plundering your City, says *Cyrus*. Mine! return'd *Cræsus*; I have nothing any longer here. 'Tis your Possessions and your Goods that they are plundering. The Revenues of this City, if spar'd, will be a constant Fund to supply the Occasions you may have in the rest of your Reign. If you completely ruin it now, you are the only Sufferer, and you will find your Loss very considerable. *Cyrus* was easily convinc'd of the Justness of what his Captive said, and took Care to put an effectual Stop to the Plundering. To recover Part of what had been already taken, by the Advice of *Cræsus*, he plac'd Men at the Gates, to prevent any Soldiers from carrying their Booty out of the City, that all their Spoils might be examin'd, and the Tenth of them given to *Jupiter*.

§. 27. ^f As soon as the *Ionians* and *Æolians* were acquainted with *Cyrus's* Conquest of *Lydia*, they sent Embassadors to him, to desire they might be admitted as his Subjects, on the same Terms they had serv'd under *Cræsus*. As they had refus'd his Offers, he thought himself under no Obligation to accept of theirs. He only made an Exception in Favour of the *Milesians*. The other *Ionian* Nations assembled together to raise Forces for their Defence, and sent to beg

^f Her. l. i. c. 141.

Succours from *Sparta*. § The *Lacedæmonians* were unwilling to engage in a War with so powerful a Prince; but for Form's sake they sent an Embassador to charge him in their Names, not to injure any *Grecian* Cities, for they should resent the Injury, as done to themselves. *Cyrus* contemn'd the Insolence of the Message, and assur'd the Messenger, that if he had Life and Leisure, those that had sent him should be concern'd, not for the Misfortunes of their Allies, but their own. He thought the Conquest of the *Ionians* too inconsiderable to deserve his own Concern, and leaving it to the Care of the Governor he left in *Sardis*, he marched his Army towards the East.

§. 28. ^h He had not march'd far from *Sardis*, when the *Lydians* revolted. *Pactyas* was their Commander, a *Lydian* Nobleman, whom *Cyrus* had entrusted with the keeping of the Treasure he had gain'd in the City. The Riches were immense, and *Pactyas* employ'd great Part of them in hiring auxiliary Troops, with which, and the *Lydians* that took up Arms under him, he besieg'd the Governor in the Capital. *Cyrus* was very much provok'd at the Abuse the *Lydians* had made of his Clemency, and his Resentments might have been fatal to the whole Nation, if *Cresus* had not been present to appease his Rage. Turn all your Vengeance (said

§ Herod. l. i. c. 152, 153.

^h Id. c. 154.—156.

the prudent old Man) on those that are immediately guilty. Let it be Punishment enough for the Nation to be render'd incapable of a second Rebellion. Forbid them the Possession or Use of Arms; make their Garments, splendid and loose; let their Children be taught soft Musick, and make Luxury and Ease familiar and natural to them. Those Men will soon be chang'd into Women, and their Effeminacy will secure you and your Successors from any new Fear. *Cyrus's* Inclination to merciful Counsels, made him follow this of *Cræsus*. He sent some new Forces into *Lydia*. *Paëtyas* fled before them, and his Army was immediately dispers'd. The *Lydians* were oblig'd to submit to what *Mazares*ⁱ (that was the Name of the General *Cyrus* sent against them) impos'd on them, and were in a little time reduc'd to a Softness, from which they never recover'd themselves, and which was more remarkable than their Grandeur had ever been.

§. 29. *Mazares* died in the Beginning of a War against the People of the Sea-Coasts, who had assisted *Paëtyas*; and his Successor^k *Harpagus* continued his Designs, and in a little time completed the Conquest of *Ionia*. The *Carians* fell too very easily. The Forces *Cyrus* sent

ⁱ Herod. Polyæ. l. 7. c. 6. §. 4. Just. l. 1. c. 7.

^k See Herodot. for the Particulars of this War. Xenoph. l. 7. c. 4. §. 1.—4.

against

against them, found them divided into Factions, and quarrelling with one another. Instead of uniting against a common Enemy, each Party sent privately to invite the *Persian* Army to their Assistance against their Adversaries. The General flatter'd both, and being admitted within their City, he used his Power to the Advantage of the *Carians*, by effectually putting an End to their Divisions, and made himself so belov'd among them, that when *Cyrus* sent Messengers to him to know if he wanted any more Forces to complete or secure his Conquests, he return'd Answer, he did not want even those he had: And the Inhabitants of the Country, upon his Removal from among them, sent to desire of *Cyrus*, that he might still be continued among them.

§. 30. ¹ *Cyrus*, in the mean time, after the Conquest of the King of *Phrygia*, by his Lieutenants, continu'd the Conquests of upper *Asia* in his own Person. He took with him Troops of the Nations he conquer'd, but such as he had Reason to suspect serv'd him only out of Fear, and were ready to revolt, if any Opportunity should offer it self; he took Care they should have no other Armour but Slings. ^m With these Troops he conquer'd upper *Phrygia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Arabia*. We have no particular Account of the Actions in this War. The great Num-

¹ Xen. 1. 7. c. 4. §. 5.

^m Ib. §. 9.

ber of *Cyrus's* Conquests made such as were more easy neglected by Historians, as ⁿ *Herodotus* expressly tells us they were by him. Those alone that were more difficult, and had some Circumstances more considerable in them, have been related a little more at large. *Cyrus* arm'd forty thousand *Persian* Horse, with the Armour of these conquer'd Nations, and out of the Horses he took, he increas'd those of his other Troops. After this he march'd against *Babylon* with an Army almost innumerable.

§. 31. ° *Herodotus* gives us an Account of an Action of *Cyrus*, in the March of his Army to *Babylon*, which, if true, is extremely to his Disadvantage. When he came to the River *Gyndes*, he found it unpassable without Boats; and while he was waiting for some, one of the white faced Horses leap'd into the River, and endeavouring to swim over, was caught in some Whirlpools and drown'd. *Cyrus* was so disturb'd at this Loss, that he solemnly vow'd he would make the River so inconsiderable, that it should be pass'd over without wetting the Leg. To fulfill this important Threatning, he employ'd his whole Army all the Summer in making three hundred and sixty Canals, into which he divided the River, and the next Spring continued his March to *Babylon*. ¶ The greatest Men are ca-

ⁿ Herod. l. 1. c. 177.
c. 21.

° c. 189. ¶ See Sen. de Irâ l. 3.

pable of doing very little Actions; and how unsuitable soever this may be to the rest of *Cyrus's* Life, we should not have a Pretence of doubting of it, if it was related in an Author of any better Credit than *Herodotus*, from whom it has been constantly copied.

§. 32. ^a The *Babylonians* had drawn out an Army to meet *Cyrus*, but after a short Engagement they retir'd into their City, where they thought themselves absolutely secure. The Account the Antients have given us of that City, has so much the Appearance of a Romance, that nothing but their agreeing in most Particulars, can make us inclin'd to believe it. This is certain, that the Largeness and Strength of the City, the Height and Thickness of its Walls were amazingly great, and the River *Euphrates*, on which it was built, was so very deep, and two ^r *Stadia* broad, that it made its greatest Security. The *Babylonians* had Leisure to lay in vast Quantities of all manner of Provisions. ^s We are told they had enough for twenty Years. By this they put themselves out of Danger of being starv'd into a Surrender, the only Way they could think it possible for the City to be taken.

§. 33. ^t When *Cyrus* had taken a View of the Walls, he was presently sensible there was no Possibility of reducing the City by open Force;

^a Herod. l. 1. c. 196.

^t Xen. l. 7. c. 5. §. 5.

^s Ib. §. 7.

^r Ib. §. 4.

and he was satisfied too there could be as little Hopes of doing it by Famine. He is said to have been in some Confusion; but the Shame of Retreat, and Thirst of Conquests made him resolve to stay, and his Mind, equal to all Attempts, us'd a Stratagem at last that was fatal to the City. He surrounded the Place, and drew a large and deep Trench round the Walls. He ^v threw up the Earth on the Side towards *Babylon*, and built towers, and placed Centinels there. *Cyrus* waited patiently amidst the Scoffs and Insults of the Townsmen, till a solemn ^x Festival, which the *Babylonians* spent in revelling all the Night long. Then, as soon as it grew dark, he employ'd great Numbers of his Forces in opening a Passage from the Trench into the River. The Water flow'd in, and the River which ran thro' the City, and was before deeper than two Mens Height, in a little time became passable.

§. 34. ^y *Cyrus* sent some Horse and Foot to examine the Depth, and finding it sufficiently shallow, he enter'd the City, at the Head of his Troops. He met with no Resistance; the Noise and Confusion he made, was not discern'd to be different from what was usual on that Night, and he order'd his Soldiers to imitate the Sounds of the Rioters as much as they could.

^v Ib. §. 6. ^x Dan. v. ^y Xeno. ib. §. 8, 11. Polyæ.
l. 7. c. 6. §. 6.

He march'd his Forces directly to the Palace, where the Gates were shut, and some Guards left, but drunk and unable to make any Resistance. The King, at the first hearing the Confusion, order'd the Gates to be open'd, and hardly knowing what he did, rush'd out at the Head of his Guards, and was immediately kill'd, and his Attendants slain or disperst. *Cyrus* being Master of the Palace, sent Forces about the City to kill such as they found in the Streets, and order all that were in their Houses to remain within, on Pain of certain Death. ^z 'Twas about the Middle of the City where *Cyrus* enter'd; and 'twas a long time before the extreme Parts were acquainted with its being taken. ^a But as soon as 'twas Day, when those that guarded the Walls were satisfied of the King's Death, and the Enemies being within the Town, they immediately surrender'd themselves.

§. 35. The Conquest of *Babylon* was alike glorious and important to *Cyrus*, and secur'd him the Empire of the East without any Opposition. He disarm'd all the Citizens, and lodg'd all their Arms in Fortresses. The greatest Part of the Spoils he employ'd in erecting Temples, and settling Revenues for the Service of the Gods. The ^b *Babylonians* he order'd to till the Ground, and pay Tributes, which the Fruitfulness of that

^z Herod. l. 1. c. 191.

^a Xen. l. 7. c. 5. §. 12.

^b Ib. §. 13.

Country ^c made so very considerable, that in the Division of the *Persian* Empire into Provinces, that were to furnish the King and his Armies with Necessaries, *Babylon* and the Country round, were to do it for four Months in the Year.

§. 36. ^d From this Time *Xenophon* tells us, *Cyrus* took upon him the State of a King, with all the Pomp of Attendants, and Formality of Guards, which were necessary in so vast a City, that was not yet absolutely reconcil'd to its Conqueror. His immediate Guards were ^e Eunuchs; and besides them ten thousand *Persians* continually watch'd the Palace. To keep the rest of the *Persian* Troops, which, though the least numerous, were the most considerable Part of his Army, from running into that Idleness and Inactivity, which is too apt to follow great Conquests, he desired the *Persian* Peers to attend on him every Day. ^f You will be Witnesses by this Means (*Xenophon* makes him say very justly and agreeably) of your Prince's Carriage. You will observe my Sloth and Negligence, if I am guilty of any, and while I perform my Duty, you will not be wanting in yours. What you do shall not be unrewarded. I will always take Care to honour the Diligence I love, and those of an inferior Rank will meet with such Encouragement to Industry, as

^c Herod. l. 1. c. 192.. ^d Xen. 16. §. 20. ^e Ib. §. 24.
^f §. 26.

can hardly be ineffectual. Our Posterity having no Examples of Vice before them, must of course be virtuous, they must stifle their perverse Inclinations, and study to excel in that honest Labour, that is the only way to Advancement. Accordingly all the rest of *Cyrus's* Life, the *Persian* Noblemen attended on him daily on Horseback, and with Spears, and waited to be employ'd in any Service, till their Prince should dismiss them. Nothing could have had happier Consequences to Posterity, if *Cyrus's* Successors had been like him; but though the following Kings took Care to keep up a Custom that did them so much Honour, and still obliged the Noblemen to a daily Attendance; yet when there were neither any Examples of Diligence in the Prince, nor Rewards for that of others, the Peers grew quickly formal and negligent in their attending, and propagated to those beneath them Laziness, fatal to the *Persian* Empire.

§. 37. ^g *Cyrus* thought his Devotion ought to rise in Proportion to his Happiness. The *Magi* were a Set of Priests very considerable in the East. ^h If *Cyrus* did not introduce them into the *Persian* Empire, where indeed we are told they were before his Time, at least he settled them on a better Foot. He made Constitutions for them; he order'd them to sing Hymns every

^g Xen. l. 8. c. 1. §. 8.
de Divin. l. 1. c. 23.

^h See Her l. 1. c. 140. Cic.

Morning, and to offer daily Sacrifices to such Deities as they should think fit to worship. The Prince's Piety being imitated by his Subjects, the Authority of the *Magi* grew to a vast Height ; but by a vile Ingratitude, they abus'd that Power to revolt against the Son of their Benefactor, and place an Impostor of their own Order on the Throne. But the Attempt was fatal to them, and the Discovery of the Cheat reduc'd them to a Contempt, from which the Sanctity of their Character could never after recover them.

§. 38. ⁱ *Cyrus* was however unhappy in another Custom, he introduc'd into his Court: It was the wearing the *Median* Habit himself, and prescribing it to the Noblemen about him. The Dress of the *Medes* was much more graceful than those of *Persia*. It conceal'd the Defects of the Body very artfully, and by the Height of the Shoes, added a majestick Tallness, which was throughout all the East look'd upon as essential to Greatness. This was a just imposing on the Crowd, who have a great Veneration for Appearances, and was a short and effectual Method of securing Superiors from their Contempt. With the same View, he allow'd of Painting too, in such as had not such Features as were likely to create Respect without it. Though *Cyrus* in his Life-time could easily prevent any ill Consequences from these Customs, it cannot be

ⁱ Xen. l. 8. c. 1. §. 14.

deny'd, but they naturally tended to make Princes and Noblemen, if not too haughty to those below them; at least too effeminate and luxurious. 'Tis well enough known they had this Effect, in a very eminent degree. Luxury and Softness are Poysons that spread alike swiftly and insensibly, and the first Approaches to them can hardly ever be avoided too carefully.

§. 39. ^k *Cyrus* spent a long time in *Babylon*, and when he thought his important Conquest sufficiently secur'd, he resolv'd on a Journey into *Persia*. ^l His Uncle *Cyaxares* met him in *Media*, and offer'd him his Daughter, an only Child, and the Heirefs of the *Median Empire*. *Cyrus* receiv'd the Offer with a decent Gratitude; but as his Parents were yet living, he begg'd Leave to wait for the Formality of their Consent, which he was sure of obtaining ^m as soon as he should ask it. The Joy of his Father, at the Sight of such a Son, after so long an Absence, may be more easily guess'd at than express'd. ⁿ The good old King soon after call'd an Assembly of the Nation, in which he engag'd his Son, who was himself now Head of a vast Empire, in a solemn Covenant with the *Persians*, that if they should be ever invaded, or any Attempt made on their Liberties, he should be always ready to act in their Defence; and the *Persians* on their Side

^k Xen. l. 8. c. 5. §. 1.

^l Ib. §. 9.

^m §. 11.

ⁿ §. 12, 13.

should engage in the Assistance of *Cyrus* against any foreign or domestick Enemy; that *Cyrus*, when he should succeed in the Realm of *Persia*, by his Father's Death, should, while he remain'd in *Persia*, always sacrifice for his People; and while he was absent in any other Part of his Dominions, some of the royal Family should do it for him. The Magistrates of *Persia*, and *Cyrus*, consented and swore to this League; and *Xenophon* assures us it remained inviolated in his Time.

§. 40. The Stay *Cyrus* made in *Persia* was very short. ° He immediately gain'd a full Consent from his Parents to his Marriage, and return'd to *Media* to complete it. The Princess he married, is said to have been a Woman of admirable Beauty. He spent no more Time in those Parts, than his Nuptial Solemnities took up, and as soon as they were over, carried his Bride with him to *Babylon*. He intended to make that City the Seat of his Empire, while his Father and Uncle survived, who were by this time both of them very old.

§. 41. P *Cyrus* thought it necessary for the confirming his Subjects in their Allegiance, to send Governors into the Provinces he had conquer'd, with large Bodies of Soldiers under them. He had already left Governors in several Garrisons and fortified Towns, and continued them under

° Ib. §. 13.

P Xen. 1. 8. c. 6. §. 1. 5.

his own immediate Care, without making them subject and accountable to any but himself. These Officers were a great Security against any Revolt of the Governors of Provinces, whose Power on other Accounts very considerable, would be limited by that of these Governors of Towns, who might give a Check to their Designs; and if they should break out into a War, be a present and ready Force against them. [¶] *Cyrus's* Successors took Care to observe this, and constantly kept the Governors of Towns independent on those of the Provinces. They took Care too to send every Year some of their Relations or greatest Courtiers throughout the Provinces, to examine into the [†] Governors Conduct, and punish the Faulty by Removal. *Cilicia, Cyprus* and *Paphlagonia*, as they were Provinces that had of their own Consent join'd *Cyrus* against the *Babylonians*, were exempt from having any *Persian* Governors. The King only imposed a moderate Tribute on them.

§. 42. [†] Another admirable Invention of *Cyrus* for the establishing his Power, was the setting up of a constant Post. Lesser Princes and Republicks had no Occasion for any but ordinary Messengers; and if any uncommon Accident happen'd, a Degree of Swiftmess, very little more than usual, was sufficient; but the Extent of *Cyrus's* Dominions was so great, that 'twas of

[¶] Ib. §. 8.

[†] Ib. §. 4.

[†] Ib. §. 9.

the last Importance, that he should be able to hear quickly from the most distant Parts of them. Having consider'd therefore how far a strong Horse could conveniently travel in a Day, at every Day's Distance he built Stables, and kept Horses and a Man at every Stage, whose Business it was to receive such Letters as should be brought them, and deliver them to others. He was to supply those Men with fresh Horses; and if it was an Affair that requir'd Expedition, they travell'd by Night. This excellent Contrivance, unheard-of in that Age, was vastly admir'd by such as could believe it, and brought as much Glory to *Cyrus* as it did Advantage.

§. 43. * When *Cyrus* dismiss'd his chief Nobles and Friends to the Government of the several Provinces of his Empire, it was upon Condition that they should return with what Forces they had to attend him at *Babylon* the next Year. They came accordingly, and he rais'd a vast Army of one hundred and twenty thousand Horse, two thousand hooked Chariots, and six hundred thousand Foot. With this Army he over-run all the Nations from *Syria* to the Red Sea. We have no Particulars of this War, nor is it probable there were many considerable Actions in it. The Name of *Cyrus*, and such a prodigious Force, were more than sufficient to prevent any Resistance, or make it immediately ineffectual. To

the vast Dominions gain'd by this Expedition, he added, soon after, the Empires of *Persia* and *Media*, by the Deaths of his Father and Uncle, who are both suppos'd to have died about this Time, in a very advanc'd Age.

§. 44. " One of the first Actions of *Cyrus's* Reign was a very generous one. The Nation of the *Jews*, an antient, and formerly powerful People of *Syria Palestina*, had been conquer'd by the last Kings of *Assyria*, and barbarously treated. Their capital City was ruin'd; their Temple, of a rich and beautiful Structure, first plunder'd, and then burnt, and all the People remov'd to *Babylon*, and the Country round it. They had, among the Books of their Religion, Prophecies that were written several Ages before the Birth of *Cyrus*, in which that Monarch was spoken of by Name, in the most magnificent Characters, and as a Deliverer of their oppress'd Nation. Whether these Prophecies were shewn to *Cyrus* in the first Year of his Empire, is perhaps hardly certain; but 'tis undoubted, that in the first Year of his Empire, he publish'd a solemn Edict, permitting the *Jews* to return to *Jerusalem* and rebuild their Temple. The People of every Country they were to pass through, were order'd to perform all Offices of Humanity to them, and invited to bear Part of the Charges of their Return, and the Work they

" 2 Chron. xxxvi. Ezra. i.

design'd to undertake. To complete the Bounty, *Cyrus* restor'd to the *Jews* all the Vessels of the *Jewish* Temple, which the Kings of *Assyria* had plac'd in some Temples in *Babylon*. According to the Accounts of the Writers of that Nation, these were of an immense and almost incredible Value, and the Gift was so great, that no Prince but *Cyrus* could have a Soul capable of making it.

§. 45. ^w *Cyrus* is said, after this, to have march'd into *Egypt*, and added that large Kingdom to his Dominions. We have no particular Account of this Expedition; and as we find *Amasis* was King of that Nation before this Time, and continued so, till after *Cyrus's* Death, 'tis highly probable that Prince made an early Submission to his Conqueror, and by that means gain'd from his Clemency the Continuance of his Reign, upon owning his Dependence, and paying Tribute. However, this is only conjectur'd; but 'tis certain, that Prince, by a mistaken Step of Politicks, was the Occasion of the intire Conquest of *Egypt*, and Ruin of his own Family, by *Cyrus's* immediate Successor.

§. 46. ^x *Amasis* had a Daughter of a considerable Reputation for Beauty. Her Fame reach'd *Cyrus*, and he sent to demand her for his Wife.

^w Xen. l. 8. c. 6. §. 10. ^x Polyæ. l. 8. c. 29. Herod. l. 3. c. 1. tells it of Cambyfes, but owns the Egyptians told it of *Cyrus*.

The King of *Egypt* was unwilling to send a Child he lov'd intirely, to increase the Number of *Cyrus's* Concubines; and yet he was afraid to venture his Displeasure by a Refusal. He had in his Court a Daughter of *Apries*, his Predecessor, from whom he had revolted, and gain'd the Kingdom by his Rebellion. The Princess's Name was *Nitetic*, and her Beauty hardly inferior to that of his own Daughter. He impos'd her upon the *Persian* Embassadors for the Lady they demand-ed, and sent her in that Character to *Cyrus*. He liked her very well, and she was the Mother of *Cambyfes*. She improv'd the Power she had at Court against *Amasis*; she discover'd his Deceir, though it was so much to her Advantage, and inspir'd so much of her Hatred into her Son, that as soon as he was settled in the *Persian* Empire, he undertook an Expedition against *Egypt*, and reveng'd his Mother's Injuries, by the Destruction of all the Posterity of *Amasis*.

§. 47. ^y The Dominions of *Cyrus*, which, after this, were not enlarg'd, were bounded on the East by the Red Sea, on the North by the *Euxine*, on the West by *Cyprus* and *Egypt*, and on the South by *Ethiopia*. The Extremities of this vast Empire were, on different Accounts, either the Excess of Heat or Cold, the Want of Water, or too great Quantity of it, not very proper to fix in. *Cyrus* always liv'd in the Middle

^y Xen. l. 8. c. 6. §. 11.

of them. The Winter and Autumn he generally spent in *Babylon*, a warm Country, where he stay'd seven Months in the Year, the three Months of the Spring at *Susa*, and the two hottest Months of the Year at *Ecbatana*. By this way of living all the Year was Spring to him; he enjoy'd the charming Mixture of Heat and Cold that reigns in that Season, and knew little of the Inconveniencies of either in their Extremes. Yet though he very rarely visited the distant Parts of his Empire, he enjoy'd all their Advantages. Charm'd with the Blessings they enjoy'd under so good a Prince, the Natives of every City and Country in his Empire thought themselves oblig'd in Gratitude to send the best Gifts their Land could produce, of whatever Nature, and were extremely happy in their Prince's Acceptance.

§. 48. Most of those who have written of the Actions of *Cyrus*, reckon a War with a People of *Scythia* among them. It seems too generally agreed, that that War was unsuccessful, so far at least, as not to have ended as all his others did, in the intire Conquest of the Nation he engag'd against. This may be the Reason, why *Xenophon* has made no mention of this Expedition, of which, besides, we have hardly any thing to be depended upon, but that there was such an one. The Situation of the Country, the Names of the Inhabitants, the Name, and even the Sex of
of

of the Prince, with whom this War was made, the Time, the Events, and the End it self are related with a surprizing Difference.

§. 49. There is not, that I know of, above one Action in the War, which we have Grounds to depend on, because 'tis related by Authors, who agree in no other Circumstance, and is so agreeable to the Character of *Cyrus*, as to appear probable in it self. ² Upon the first Advances of the *Barbarian* General against him with a very numerous Army, *Cyrus* retreated with an hasty Shew of Fear, and left his Camp, which was very well stor'd with Provisions, to the Mercy of the Enemy. It was immediately seiz'd upon, and the *Scythians* indulging themselves in plundering and Feasts, were easily surpris'd by *Cyrus*, intirely defeated, and almost all cut to Pieces.

§. 50. How uncertain soever we may be of the Accidents which turn'd a War, begun so happily for *Cyrus*, to his Disadvantage, we have no Reason to believe ^a *Herodotus*, who tells us it ended in his Death. The Story is very well known. A Battle, the most bloody that ever was fought; *Cyrus* slain in it, and his whole Army cut to Pieces; the Queen (for to complete *Cyrus's* Shame, *Herodotus* will have him conquer'd by a Woman) cutting off his Head, and dipping it in a large Vessel of Blood, with

² Just. l. 1. c. 8. Strab. l. 11. p. 253. c. 214.

^a Herod. l. 1.

barbarous Insults over the dead Monarch, as insatiable of Blood, which she would now quench his Thirst of: These are Particulars so extremely common, that there can be no Reason to enlarge on them, unless they were more certainly true. But when one considers the Genius of *Herodotus*, when one reflects on the fine Fable he has made of the Birth of *Cyrus*, which seem'd to require a Counterpart in his Death, we have Grounds enough to reject the improbable Tale, even though the unanimous Consent of the *Persian* Historians, and that of several *Grecian* Writers against it, did not give us an invincible Proof of its ^b Falshood; and indeed, a Man that considers how *Herodotus's* Story is alter'd by those that follow'd him, in the general, will be inclin'd to believe that those very Authors look'd upon it as a Romance, which they might improve and imbellish as they pleas'd.

^c *Cyrus*, according to *Xenophon*, and several other *Greeks*, after the Authority of the *Persian* Annals, died in Peace in his own Country, which he was visiting now for the seventh time, after he had been King of *Persia*. He died in a good old Age; those Accounts that make him youngest say, he was seventy at the Time of his Death, and others make him much older. ^d The Period

^b See Val. M. l. 9. c. 10. Just. l. 1. c. 8.
l. 8. c. 7. §. 1. See Luc. de Macrob.

^d Cic. de Div. l. 1. c. 24.

^c Xenoph.

of his Life is said to have been foretold him thirty Years before in a Dream, and a Vision ^e he had but a few Days before his Sickness, which was but short, prepar'd him for his End. Whatever Credit may be given to these Predictions, 'tis not unlikely that his Death was hasten'd by a Concern, at the Carriage of his eldest Son *Cambyfes*, who gave early Marks of his savage Temper, by presuming even in his Father's Lifetime, to put to Death some of his best Friends, and to act the Tyrant before his Time.

§. 52. That Prince indeed inherited none of the Virtues of *Cyrus*, besides his Valour, which was mix'd too with such Brutality, that it lost all its Merit. He conquer'd *Egypt* in the Beginning of his Reign, and aveng'd his Mother's Quarrel against the Family of *Amasis*, by its utter Destruction. He had a younger Brother nam'd *Smerdis*, who was a Prince of great Merit, and more worthy of his Father. *Cambyfes* grew jealous of his growing Fame, and order'd him to be murder'd privately. The *Magi*, whose Power was already very considerable in *Persia*, had one of their Order, who exactly resembled the deceas'd Prince. They began a Rebellion in his Name, and the King, when he was preparing to march against the Rebels, falling off his Horse, and being mortally wounded with his own Sword, they fix'd their Impostor in the

• Xen.

f Luci.

S

Throne.

Throne. But the Cheat was soon discover'd, and the greatest *Persian* Noblemen conspiring to free their Country, the false *Smerdis* was slain, and a great Number of the Priests fell as a Sacrifice to the Rage of the Multitude.

§. 53. Besides these two Sons, *Cyrus* had a Daughter nam'd *Atossa*. The succeeding King *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, married her immediately upon his Election, and her Son being preferr'd in the Succession to his elder Brother, born of a former Wife, the Blood of *Cyrus* re-ascended the Throne, which his Posterity remain'd in Possession of, till the Ruin of the Monarchy. Only a very few Years before the Invasion of *Alexander*, the Race of *Cyrus* being extinct, a Stranger was chosen to the Kingdom to have the Misfortune of losing it, and take away the Reproach of that Misfortune from the Descendants of the Conqueror.

§. 54. § *Cyrus* was buried in *Pasargada*, a City of *Persia*. The Sepulchre was adorn'd with a Profusion of Riches, and a Set of *Magi* appointed by his Son, and continu'd by his Successors, who guarded the sacred Relicks, and every Month sacrific'd a Horse to his Memory. The Inscription of the Sepulchre was, *O Man, I am CYRUS the Son of Cambyfes, the Foun-*

§ Arri. l. 6. p. 144, 145. Ed. H. Step. ex Aristobulo. Strab. l. 15. p. 502. out of the same A. yet with some Variety. Q. Curtius tells it again differently.

der of the Persian Empire, and Lord of Asia. Don't envy me this Monument. In the Conquest of *Persia* by *Alexander* this Monument was plunder'd; all the Ornaments of it taken away; the Cover of the Coffin in which the Body lay, which was massy Gold, was taken off, and the Body it self thrown out. The Coffin was too heavy to be remov'd: The Robbers had endeavour'd to divide it into Pieces, and had mangled it, but not being able to break it, they were forced to leave it behind them. *Alexander*, who had the Curiosity to visit the Monument found it in this Condition, he was extremely incens'd at the villanous Sacrilege, and tortur'd the *Magi*, who were Guardians of the Place, to gain a Discovery of the Authors of the Fact. They protested their Innocence and Ignorance in the midst of their Tortures, and were dismiss'd. *Aristobulus* the Historian, who attended on *Alexander* in his Expedition, was order'd to repair the Monument. From him we have this Account, which is more credible, than the different ones of other Historians, who could not possibly be so well inform'd.

§. 55. 'Tis hardly possible to conceive any thing more noble than the Character of *Cyrus*. The Valour which he was possess'd of in an eminent Degree, was not a rash thoughtless Fire: 'Twas always accompanied with a Prudence that guarded him against any Irregularities of Conduct,

duct, and gave Fortune the least Part in the Glory of his Successes. He preserv'd his Conquests, with as much Ease as he made them. Of all his Empire but one Province revolted from him, and was immediately reduc'd again to its Subjection. The Ambition that urg'd him on to his Conquests was as excusable as such a failing can be; and if a Desire after a boundless Power could be any thing but a Vice, it might be almost esteem'd a Virtue in a Prince, who seem'd form'd for Dominion as large as his Wishes. 'Twould be a vast Injury to *Cyrus*, to compare him with the other Conquerors of Antiquity. Those Princes were for the most part publick Plagues; *Cyrus* was a general Blessing; he had the Happiness of all his Dominions in View, and he secur'd it while he lived. The Nations he conquer'd were Slaves before, and he only chang'd their Servitude for one vastly more gentle. He found his native Subjects free, and he left them so: He had that tender Affection for his People, that makes the brightest Part of a Monarch's Character. He was a studious Enquirer after Merit, and a constant Rewarder of it, with a Liberality that was natural to him, and which he indulg'd to a Degree, that seem'd to border on Profuseness. To these Advantages of Mind he added a strong and vigorous^h Constitution, a

^h Val. M. l. 8. c. 7. says he could remember all his Soldiers Names.

noble Mien, a Person admirably graceful, and the most obliging Carriage in the World. Such a Prince could not fail of commanding his Subjects Affections. ⁱ They call'd him their Father while he lived, and continued their Praises to his Memory; and though several of the Successors of *Cyrus* were great Princes, and used to gross Flatteries, they never pretended to be compared to that Monarch; and the most extravagant Complement any of them had ever paid him by a *Persian* was, that he was the greatest of his Country next to *Cyrus*.

§. 56. ^k When *Cyrus* was in the Height of his Glory, his *Persian* Subjects desir'd they might be remov'd from their Country. So poor a Nation was not worthy of having the Conquerors of *Asia* for its Inhabitants, and their Prince had Variety of Provinces, he might settle them in with much greater Conveniencies. *Cyrus* heard them very patiently, and told them he would not in the least oppose their Desires, but he would have them a little consider what they ask'd. Believe me, *Persians*, says he, you will change your Conditions with your Country, and you must prepare yourselves to obey instead of commanding. A softer Climate, and a luxurious life, will infallibly ruin your rough Valour, and fit you for being the meanest Slaves. The Gods (added he agreea-

ⁱ Xen. l. 8. c. 8. §. 1. Pausan. l. 8. c. 43. Herod. l. 3. c. 89. & 160.

^k Herod. l. 9. c. 121.

bly) are not lavish of their Gifts, and have never made the same Countries plentiful of Fruits and of great Men. The *Persians* had Sense enough to take their Monarch's Counsel, and they preserv'd themselves by it. Succeeding Princes broke through *Cyrus's* Rules; and weakening their Subjects, by giving them Examples and Encouragements to Softness and Debauchery, they made way for the *Macedonian* Conquest. Yet the Slavery of the *Persians* was but short: While the other Provinces that were subject to *Cyrus* and his Successors, remain'd under the *Greeks*, till they chang'd their Masters for *Romans*, the old Inhabitants of *Persia*, early revolted from their *Macedonian* Tyrants, and erected the *Parthian* Empire. That Empire soon became formidable to its Neighbours, and when the rest of the East fell, was able to make an effectual Stand against *Rome*, and even to gain important Victories over some of its most considerable Commanders, at a Time when the Power of that City was the greatest the World ever knew. Though they experienc'd the Chances of War in their Turn, Success was generally on their Side, and the *Romans* had Cause enough to repent of having ever attacked them. In the Days of *Augustus* himself, the restoring the Ensigns taken at the Defeat of *Craffus*, was celebrated among the first Glories of that Prince,

Prince. And though the *Romans* were sensible that they owed that Civility to the Tyranny of the *Parthian* Prince, which made him desirous of courting a foreign Assistance against his own Subjects; they look'd upon the retrieving their Honour so easy a Way, as a Happiness equal to that of their greatest Conquests.

S 4

THE

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L I F E
O F
J A S O N.

§. 1. **T**HE *Theſſalians* make a conſiderable Figure in the firſt Accounts we have of the *Grecian* Antiquities. Moſt Parts of *Greece* were either peopled or conquer'd by them, and the ^a making a Name, which originally belong'd to a People of *Theſſaly*, the common Name of all the *Greeks*, is a convincing Proof of the Reputation of thoſe that firſt bore it. Every one knows that the great *Achilles*, and the General of the *Argonauts*, were Natives of this Country.

§. 2. While *Athens* and *Sparta* roſe, *Theſſaly* decay'd. When thoſe two Cities, at the Head of the reſt of *Greece*, made a deſperate Stand for their Liberty againſt the *Persians*, and gain'd the higheſt Praises by their Conqueſts, in ſo glorious a Cauſe, the *Theſſalians* poorly reſign'd their Freedom to the Invader, as ſoon as he de-

[?] Hellenes.

manded

manded it; and when the same two Nations disputed for so many Years the Superiority over one another, and all *Greece*, in the Wars that ended in the taking of *Athens*, the *Theffalians* continued to act a mean Part, and were neither look'd upon as Enemies, nor as Allies of any Consequence.

§. 3. One Man was able to restore the *Theffalians* out of this miserable Condition, to a fair Prospect of their antient Greatness. In giving Birth to *Jason* the *Pheræan*, *Theffaly* again rose to be great, and even formidable to the Liberties of *Greece*. Had his Death been less sudden, *Philip* might have been prevented, and *Greece* at the worst had yielded to one of the greatest of her Sons, and to a People that had been in past Ages her Support and Ornament, and had escap'd the Disgrace of being enslav'd by Barbarians, who would have made a very inconsiderable Part of *Jason's* Conquests.

§. 4. *Jason* was born at *Pheræ*, one of the chiefest Cities of *Theffaly* in that Age, and of a Family the principal in that City. His Riches were vast, and his Ambition soon prompted him to use them as Means of rising out of a private Condition. He thought it intolerable to be a Subject, and used to ^b profess that he thirsted after sovereign Power. ^c He had indeed, besides the accidental Advantage of his Birth, every

^b Arist. Polit. l. 3. c. 3.

^c Xenoph. l. 6. c. 1.

personal

personal Accomplishment that could fit him for Greatness. He had an hardy Constitution, Proof against any Fatigues, an Industry and Resolution capable of any Undertaking, and a natural Contempt of Pleasures. He was a most finish'd Master in the Art of War, daring and prudent in just Measures; when Force was proper, knowing how to use it to the best Advantage; and when Things were not yet ripe^d for open Action, perfectly skill'd in every Method of concealing and dissembling his Designs, of lulling his Enemies into Security, and improving their Easiness to their Ruin. The same Person that could do every thing that was great and noble, could descend to little low Arts, when his Designs seem'd to require them. He had the most insinuating Manners, and was possess'd of popular Eloquence in a very high Degree. ^c He had an Intimacy with *Isocrates*; but we are told he prefer'd^f *Gorgias* the *Leontine*, before any other Orator of his Age. The Eloquence of that Man was not always just, if *Plato* has not injur'd his Character, but it was extremely admir'd, and hardly ever fail'd of Success. In those Views therefore that *Jason* had, he could not form himself after a better Model.

§. 5. *Jason* employ'd his Interest and Riches to raise a good Body of Mercenaries; but his

^d Cicer. Off. l. 1. r.

^c Isocr. Epist. ad Jasonis Filios.

^f Pausan. l. 6. c. 18.

Treasures, large as they were, were not sufficient for their Pay. He had very rich Relations, but as they were not liberal, he was forc'd to use several little Arts to get from them the Supplies he wanted. § One time, when his Soldiers were ready to mutiny for their Pay, which he was not then able to give them, he order'd two or three of them to pursue him into his Mother's Chamber. The good Woman was heartily frighted, and to save her Son's Life, gave the Soldiers all the Money they desir'd. Another Time, after a considerable Victory, he told his Mother that *Castor* and *Pollux* had personally assisted him, and that he had vow'd to treat the Gods, if he gain'd the Day. Accordingly he had invited all his Officers to be his Guests with the Gods, and desir'd her Assistance to make the Entertainment splendid. She believ'd the Story, and pleas'd with her Son's Devotion, sent him all her Plate, large Vessels and Tables of Gold and Silver, and the richest of her Furniture. *Jason* immediately turn'd it all into Money for his Soldiers. At other Times he would by some Trick or other secure the Maids that waited on her, who were very numerous, and make her pay a good Price, before he would send them back again to her.

§. 6. ^h He treated his Brothers much after the same manner. Having a Son born, he invited

§ Polyæ. Str. VI. §. 2, 3, 4, 5. ^h Polyæ. ib. §. 6.

the principal Men of *Theffaly* to be present at the giving the Child a Name. His Brother *Meriones*, a Man very rich, but very covetous, was one of the Company. *Jason* employ'd him in doing the Honours of his House, pretending himself to go a hunting, to get some Part of his Provision that way. While his Brother was busy in entertaining the Guests, *Jason*, attended with a Troop of Horse, rode directly to his Brother's House at *Pagasa*, seiz'd on twenty Talents there, and came back to the Feast in a very good Humour. He desir'd his Brother to perform the usual Sacrifices, and name his Son. *Meriones* being by this time acquainted with what *Jason* had done, call'd the Boy *Porthaon*, the Plunderer.

§. 7. ⁱ *Jason* having one Day his Brother *Polydorus* with him, at the Time of bathing, familiarly desir'd him for once to rub his Body. He set about it readily, and *Jason* complaining that a Ring *Polydorus* had on hurt him, begg'd him to pull it off. An Attendant of *Jason's*, prepar'd for the Purpose, receiv'd the Ring, and as his Lord had order'd him, made the utmost Hastē to *Polydorus's* House. Admitted to his Wife, he ask'd for ten Talents in her Husband's Name. The Sight of the Ring having satisfied her, she gave him the Money readily. When *Jason* saw the Messenger return'd, he was easi,

ⁱ Id. ib. §. 7.

and desir'd his Brother to put an End to the impertinent Exercise he had made him continue till then.

§. 8. Such low Artifices as these was *Jason* forc'd to use in the Beginnings of his Greatness. A Man that treated his Friends thus, was not likely to observe any Measures with Strangers. * When he was reproach'd with such little Tricks, he made no Scruple of professing, he thought it very lawful sometimes to commit some trifling Acts of Injustice, when great and valuable Ends could be serv'd by them.

§. 9. ¹ *Jason* saw himself in a little time at the Head of a noble Army. It was not large, but incomparably well chosen. He generally used to exercise his Soldiers every Day, and discharged such of them as he imagin'd were not likely to undergo Hardships. Such as he saw, on any Occasions, behave themselves with Vigour, he immediately rewarded with double Pay; and in case of extraordinary Merit, with the Pay of three and even of four Men. He was constant in bestowing all those military Honours, which cost a General but little, and were yet highly valued by a Soldier. Besides this, he took Pains to study the Temper of his Men, and then gave them such Rewards as seem'd most suited to their Inclinations. He made the Sick and Wounded

* Plutar. Polit. p. 817, 818. & de San. tuendâ p. 135.

† Xen. l. 6. c. 1. § 4.

his peculiar Care, and buried those that died in his Service, with such Marks of Distinction, as were very engaging to the Living.

§. 10. As the Success of his Designs depended very much on Expedition, he used his Soldiers to the hastiest Marches, and to be ready at all Hours, making no Distinction between Night and Day. And his Troops were asham'd of appearing uneasy at any Hardships, when they saw their General taking his Part with them, and bearing a full Share in the greatest Difficulties, a Stranger to Diversions and Rest, when he had any great Design in View, not stopping even for Refreshment, but eating and marching at the same time.

§. 11. *Jason* has been said to have excell'd particularly in all the Arts of Surprize. The following ^m Instance is remarkable on that Head. Intending to seize on a City of *Theffaly*, he summon'd his Troops to appear well arm'd, that they might be review'd, and receive their Arrears at the same time. While they were in the midst of their Exercises, Messengers came in bringing Advice, that some Enemies were ravaging the Country, at such a Distance, as the Town he had a Design on was from them. The Soldiers, warm'd at the News, begg'd their General to lead them immediately to chastise the Enemy's Insolence. *Jason* took them at their Word,

^m Pelyæ. l. 6. c. 1. §. 1.

march'd

march'd them directly to the Town, which was forc'd to yield upon the first Attack, while the Conquerors hardly knew what they were doing, and were as much surpris'd as the Vanquish'd.

§. 12. *Jason's* Artifices and Valour, used in their Turns, and often both together, secur'd him Success, and he scarce knew what it was to be disappointed. Having master'd most of the *Theffalian* Cities without much Difficulty, he made War upon the *Dolopes* and *Maraci*. ⁿ These Nations, Inhabitants of the Country next *Theffaly*, on the South Side of *Pindus*, were of Greek Descent, and had in former Ages been subject to the *Theffalians*, but had now for some time shaken off their Yoke. ^o *Jason* soon reduc'd them to their former Subjection. *Epirus* was commanded by *Alcetas*, a Man of Figure in that Age, and an Ally of *Athens*. But his Greatness only serv'd to heighten the Glory of *Jason's* Victories over him.

§. 13. ^p In one of his Battles *Jason* had an Accident, which has been always look'd upon as one of the most remarkable Miracles of Antiquity. He had for a long time labour'd under a Disease, which having resisted all the Medicines used to remove it, was at last thought incurable, when a large Wound he receiv'd breaking an Imposthume, gave him immediate Ease,

ⁿ Strabo. l. 8. p. 299. ubi citat Homer. l. 8. Iliad.

^o Xen. ^p Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 28. Plin. l. 7. c. 51.
and

and a speedy Cure. Other ^a Authors tell us, he receiv'd the Blow that cur'd him from a private Assassin.

§. 14. *Jason* valued these Advantages only as Steps to such as were vastly greater. As foreign Alliances were necessary for the Designs he had in View, he enter'd into a League with ^r *Amintas*, the King of *Macedonia*, the most powerful of the neighbouring Barbarians. Of the Cities of *Greece*, *Sparta* was that to whose Cause the *Thessalians* of late had been most engag'd; and we find particularly that *Jason's* Father had been very much in the Interest of that Nation. But the *Spartans* were now the most powerful People of all *Greece*; and it was more agreeable to *Jason's* Intentions, to sink that immoderate Greatness, than to support it. He therefore disengag'd himself from them, and made a strict League with the *Thebans*, who were then at War with *Sparta*, and obliged himself to assist them, whenever they should require it.

§. 15. He was an Ally of the *Athenians* too; but if we could depend upon the Account ^f we have of the Manner in which that Treaty was concluded, it must probably have been much to his Disadvantage. We are told, that *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* Forces in *Theffaly*, and *Jason*, met unarm'd, to treat of a Peace; that

^a Val. Max.

^r Diod. Sic. Ol. 102. a. 3. p. 488.

^f Polyæ. l. 3. c. 9. §. 40.

the Terms being pretty well settled, a Sacrifice was provided, on the Entrails of which the two Generals might swear the Observance of the Treaty; and that while *Jason* was busy in cutting the Throat of the Victim, *Iphecrates*, on a sudden, snatched up the Knife, and offering it at his Breast, insisted on such new Terms as he thought fit; which *Jason*, to preserve himself from immediate Death, was forc'd to comply with. Such an odd Story, told after a perplex'd Manner, by an Author that commits a thousand Mistakes, may seem sufficiently refuted by the Silence of Writers of better Credit, who in giving us the Histories of these Times, never hint at any War between *Athens* and *Theffaly*. But whatever becomes of this Story, *Jason's* Alliance with *Athens* is very certain.

§. 16. *Jason* was now Master of all the considerable Cities in *Theffaly*, besides *Pbar-salus*. The Citadel of that City, and all the Government of it was intrusted with *Poly-damas*. He was a Man of great Reputation, belov'd for his Magnificence and Hospitality. His Integrity and Love for his Country were very eminent. He receiv'd and dispos'd of all the publick Treasure, giving in his Accounts every Year with the utmost Exactness. Far from improving his Opportunities, or turning to his own Advantage any Part of the Monies that

† Xen. 1. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4.

past through his Hands, he often expended part of his own large Estate, when any Exigency requir'd it, and never paid himself again out of the Revenues of the City, till he could do it without the least Prejudice to the Publick. He had always oppos'd *Jason's* Power, and with the Forces of his City, and some lesser Places that depended on it, had often retarded his Conquests, though he could not hinder them. *Jason* was very desirous to gain a Man of his Character, and having made a Truce with him, went himself to *Pharsalus*, on purpose to bring him over to his Interest.

§. 17. *Jason* told him he was come thither to propose an Alliance with him. He put him in mind of his Conquests and Power. You see, *Polydamas*, he said, that I have reduced the most powerful Cities of *Theffaly* into a Confederacy with me. Your Arms have oppos'd my Designs, but you must be convinc'd from the Success your joint Endeavours against me have had, how little I need fear the Opposition of your single Strength. I have six thousand Mercenaries in my Pay. You would not perhaps find it impossible to raise an equal Number out of your Cities. But can you think your raw and undisciplin'd superannuated Troops a fit Match for mine, the bravest, the hardiest, and the best disciplin'd Soldiers in *Greece*? If I were to deal with an Enemy, I would not desire a greater Superiority;

ority; but, *Polydamas*, I would make you a Friend. I prefer an Alliance freely enter'd into, to all the Advantages Conquest can give me. I know the just Regard our Country has for you, and if you will employ the Interest you have in my Favour, I'll make you, after my self, the greatest Man in *Greece*. Upon this Foot alone, I pretend to your Friendship.

§. 18. There is nothing, he pursued, extravagant in this Promise. If you come into me with your City and its Dependencies, I shall easily be made General of all *Theffaly*. That Character will put me at the Head of a noble Army. Our Country-men are strong and vigorous, and naturally valiant enough. They want only to be disciplin'd, to put them in such Condition, that they shall fear no Enemy whatever. The neighbouring People can make no Resistance. The Cities of *Greece* that are at War with the *Spartans*, are my Allies, and will readily serve under me, when I shall be able to secure them Revenge and Conquest. The Power of *Sparta* being crush'd, there will be no other on Land an equal Match for me. The *Athenians* too that pretend to be Lords of the Sea, will soon find us their Superiors. When *Macedonia* is ours, as it must be when we please, the Timber the *Athenians* used to be supplied with, will be all in our Hands. Our numerous Slaves will fill our Ships as fast as we can build them. As for Provisions,

we that export our Corn, must have Advantage enough over such as are forced to buy theirs. Our Tributes being rais'd on the Continent, will come in more easily, than those which they gather from a Parcel of scatter'd Islands. If we have a Mind to turn our Arms against *Persia*, that Conquest will be yet a great deal easier than that of *Greece*. The *Persians* are a Nation of Slaves, and they have Souls suited to the Meanness of their Condition, and ignorant of a Sentiment that is brave or manly. What Resistance they are likely to make to such Forces as ours, the *Greeks* that went up with *Cyrus* and *Agésilas* have sufficiently prov'd.

§. 19. *Polydamas* had nothing to object to this Discourse, but his Country's Alliance with *Sparta*, and the Injustice there would be in revolting to the Enemies of that City, which had given them no Cause of Complaint. In Return to this, *Jason* assur'd him he approv'd of the Generosity of his Sentiments, and was more confirm'd by them in his Inclinations to be his Friend. He bid him go to *Sparta*, and see what Assistance was to be expected from thence. If you find, he pursued, that the *Lacedemonians* can grant you such Aids, as you can think your self may make a good Stand against me, in the Name of all the Gods, *Polydamas*, accept of them: I shall know what to do, and am prepar'd for all the Events of War. Only consider well, before

fore you take such Aids as can't oppose me to any Purpose. Our Country cannot fail of suffering by such Methods, and your own Reputation will be injur'd, if you expose your City needlessly to all the Calamities of an unequal War.

§. 20. *Jason* ran no great Hazard in making this Proposal to *Polydamas*. " He knew the Affairs of *Sparta* well enough to be satisfied, no Succours could be sent thence as were worth *Polydamas's* accepting, or likely to give himself much Trouble. *Polydamas* however took *Jason* at his Word, went directly to *Sparta*, and gave the Government there a faithful Account of all that had been propos'd to him. He told them, if they could spare him such a Body of Troops as might enable him to act vigorously against *Jason*, he was confident several Cities of *Thessaly* would embrace the Opportunity, and revolt from him; but if they had only raw Soldiers, or half-arm'd Slaves to give him, their Attempts would only expose themselves, and further *Jason's* Projects. The *Spartans* having consider'd their Circumstances, at last own'd to *Polydamas*, they were not in a Condition to give him such Supplies as he desir'd, and left him to take such Steps as he thought would be most for his Country's present Interest.

" Xen. l. 6. c. 1. §. 2, 5.

§. 21. ^w When *Polydamas* was return'd home, he conjur'd *Jason*, not to insist on his delivering up the Citadel of *Pharsalus*, but to permit him to keep it for those, who had given him the Command of it. He promis'd to use his present Power for *Jason's* Interest, and persuade his Citizens to enter into an Alliance with him, and consent to his being chosen General. He gave his Sons as Pledges of his Fidelity. *Jason* agreed to his Demand, and making a Treaty with *Pharsalus*, was soon after, by a Law that had the Consent of all the Cities, constituted General of *Thessaly*.

§. 22. ^{*} Under this modest Title all the Power of Royalty was indeed comprehended, and *Jason* is usually call'd Tyrant or Monarch of *Thessaly*. For the first Instance of his Power, he order'd each of the *Thessalian* Cities to supply him with such a Number of Soldiers, as they could easily raise. By this Means he was soon at the Head of an Army of eight thousand Horse, and twenty thousand heavy arm'd Foot, besides a large Body of Slingers. He impos'd Tributes on the neighbouring Nations, such as they had paid in the more prosperous Times of *Thessaly*, and his Forces made his Demands be readily comply'd with.

§. 23. ^y One of the first Actions of *Jason*, after he was settled in his Government, was a very

^w Xen.

^{*} Xen.

^y Demof. in Ti-

mothe. p. 1074, 1075. Corn. Nep. in Tim. c. 4. Xen. l. 6. c. 2. §. 7, 8.

generous one. *Timotheus*, the Son of *Conon*, Admiral of *Athens* at this Time, was his intimate Friend. He was appointed to succour the *Corcyreans*, then besieged by the *Lacedemonians*, and reduced to the last Extremities. The Decree that made him Admiral, ordered he should have sixty Ships under him, but there were not so many at *Athens*; and *Timotheus* not thinking it safe to act against an Enemy, whose Fleet was much larger than his own, sailed about the Islands to gather up his appointed Number. His Enemies took Occasion from this, to accuse him of Negligence; and the *Athenians*, who saw the ill Consequences of this Delay, and when their Expectations were disappointed, did not use to examine much into the Reasons of their Misfortunes, recalled their Admiral, and sent *Iphicrates* in his Room. *Timotheus* being returned, was prosecuted with a great deal of Vigour, and the condemning and putting to Death of an Officer that was his Friend, and had acted only by his Orders, was a sad Prefage of the Success of his Trial. All the Friends of *Timotheus* appeared for him in this Exigency. *Jason* was the Principal of them. He came to *Athens* unattended with his Guards, and at a Time when he was the most powerful Man in *Greece*, pleaded as a private Suppliant for his Friend. Such an Intercession as this was necessary to preserve him. He was at last declared innocent, and lived to perform

great Services for his Country. Those Authors are strangely mistaken, who reckon his making War afterwards upon ² *Jason* among those Services. *Timotheus* was a Patriot good enough not to refuse to act for his Country wherever it was needful; and if *Jason* had liv'd to carry on Designs injurious to *Athens*, he would certainly have serv'd, though with Regret, even against the Man to whom he ow'd his Life; but he never had the Misfortune to be reduc'd to such Circumstances.

§. 24. ^a *Jason* came to *Thebes* upon a very different Errand. 'Twas to offer *Epaminondas* two thousand Pieces of Gold, to fix him in his Interest. One that is at all acquainted with *Epaminondas*'s Character, is prepar'd for his Answer. Though his Poverty was extreme, he refus'd the Money, and told *Jason* he resented the Offer as a great Injury. Such a Proceeding was not likely to lessen him in *Jason*'s Esteem. He continued still to have an high Value for him, but his Intimacy was greater with the other *Theban* General *Pelipodas*, a Man of a more sociable Virtue.

§. 35. ^b When the *Thebans* had gain'd an untire Victory over the *Lacedemonians* at *Leuctra*, they sent immediately to *Jason*, desiring him, as

^a Corn. Nep. ^a Plut. in Apophth. p. 153. and in his Discourse de Gen. Socr. p. 583. where he makes a Speech for *Epaminondas*. ^b Xen. l. 6. c. 4. §. 21. Diod. Sic. Ol. 102. 2. p. 486.

he was oblig'd by his Treaty with them, to assist them in the improving their Advantage. *Jason* was at that Time invaded by the *Phocenses*, who had enter'd his Territories without any Declaration of War. But he despis'd them too much to delay marching upon their Account. He order'd some Gallies to be prepar'd, as if he had intended to have gone to aid the *Thebans* by Sea, and almost at the same time began his March by Land with the few Forces he had then with him, which are said not to have been above fifteen hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse. He march'd with such Expedition, that his coming to a City generally prevented any Notice of his being in Motion that way; and before those People that would have oppos'd him, could gather any Troops to stop his Passage, he was got far beyond their Territories.

§. 26. ^c Thus he reach'd the *Theban* Camp, without any Loss or Difficulty. He had not been there long, when the *Thebans* imagining they had a favourable Opportunity of attacking the Enemy, gave the necessary Orders to *Jason*, and prepar'd for Action. But *Jason*, who was resolv'd not to act himself, dissuaded his Allies from engaging. The Advantages they had already gain'd, he told them, were great enough, and they had no manner of Occasion to run the Hazard of losing them by a too eager Pursuit of

^c Xen. 1. 6. c. 4. §. 22, 23.

fresh Conquests. He put them in mind, that their own Victories had begun, from that Moment that they had been reduc'd to the greatest Streights; they had all imaginable Reason to think the same would happen to the *Spartans*. Every Thing might be dreaded from the Valour of such an Enemy made desperate; and the Gods seem'd to delight in such Cases, to humble the haughty and insolent, and raise those they would crush upon their Ruins.

§. 27. This Way of Reasoning was not the justest in the World, and *Jason* was far enough from believing the fine Morality he preach'd to his Confederates. He was persuaded a new Engagement would complete the Ruin of the *Lacedemonians*, which he had no mind to do. While *Thebes* and *Sparta* were rival Cities, they would find full Employment for one another, and he might at his Leisure pursue any future Projects, which either of those Towns possess'd by Conquest of the Power of both, would be able effectually to oppose. Perhaps the *Thebans* might grieve at the true Reasons of *Jason's* Advice, and repent their having been so hasty in sending for him, when they might have push'd on the War themselves. However, as the Case stood, they thought it best to comply with an Ally, who was in a Condition to make his Counsels be obey'd.

§. 28. After

§. 28. ^d After this *Jason* address'd himself to the *Lacedemonians*. He told them a Sense of his Father's and his own Obligations to their City, gave him a great Concern for their Welfare. They could not but be sensible how ill a Match their dispirited Soldiers were for an Army flush'd with Victory. He assur'd them, some of their Allies were inclin'd to abandon them, and go over to the Enemy. They had no Hopes of Safety, but in a Truce which they might not find it difficult to obtain. By Delay they might forget their Defeat, retrieve their antient Power, and cease to look upon the *Thebans* as invincible.

§. 29. The *Lacedemonians* thought themselves not concern'd to examine the Motives *Jason* had in giving this Advice. Convinc'd it was the best they could take, they heartily thank'd him for it, and desir'd him to use his Interest with his Allies, to obtain the Truce he had propos'd. The *Thebans* already prepar'd by *Jason*, consented to the Truce so readily, that the *Spartans*, amaz'd at such an happy Turn in their Affairs, were afraid the Enemy had some treacherous Designs, in granting them a Favour of such Consequence so very unaccountably. They resolv'd therefore not to trust them, but drew off all their Forces in the Night-time, and by hasty Marches, got at such a Distance from the *Thebans*, that if

^d Xen. ib. §. 24, 25, 26.

they had design'd to fall upon them during the Truce, or should repent of their Easiness in consenting to it, they might not have it in their Power to attack them suddenly.

§. 30. ^c *Jason*, in his Return home through *Phocis*, took the Suburbs of *Hyermopolis*, plunder'd the Territories of that City, and put several of the Citizens to Death. 'Tis to be imagin'd, the Inhabitants of that Town had been more particularly concern'd in the Invasion of *Theffaly*: For *Jason*, after having made an Example of them, marched through all the rest of *Phocis*, without doing any Mischief.

§. 31. ^f The next Year *Jason* invaded *Locris*, and besieg'd *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*. It was a Town of great Strength, and by its Situation near the Streights of *Thermopylae*, one of the Keys of *Greece* on the Side of *Theffaly*. *Jason* knew his own Power too well to fear, that any one that might possess it, should think of invading him that Way; but he consider'd if *Heraclea* was in other Hands, his own Passage into *Greece* might be less easy. On this Account, having the Town betray'd to him, he dismantled it, and gave the Country about it to the *Oeteans* and *Melians*. He marched thence to *Perrhaebia*, and made himself Master of the Cities of that Country, partly by Force, and partly by the Arts of Persuasion.

^e Xen. §. 27.

^f Xen. Diod. Ol. 102, 103. p. 487.

§. 32. *Jason*

§. 32. ^g Jason was now, without Dispute, the greatest Man in Greece. His Alliance was courted on all Parts, and those that obtain'd it, shew'd by their Respect to him, how much they valued the Favour. He had this peculiar Happiness (as *Xenophon* says) above any in his Time, that no one pretended to despise or undervalue him. His Moderation, popular Carriage, and the general Equity of his Government made him belov'd by those he commanded. While he flatter'd the Ambition of his Country-men in the Prospect of being Masters of Greece, by such Arguments as he had us'd to *Polydamas*, he gave out through all the rest of the Grecian Cities, that he intended an Expedition against the *Persians*. All Greece applauded the Project, enlarg'd on the Generosity of the Undertaking, and prais'd him for it, after a Manner very proper to remove out of his Breast any Thoughts of enslaving his Country, when he might with such Glory revenge it.

§. 33. ^h 'Twas now the fourth Year of Jason's Reign, when the *Pythian* Games approaching, he order'd the Cities, subject to him, to fatten Oxen and Sheep, Lambs and Swine, and prepare them for the Sacrifices to be perform'd at those Solemnities. ⁱ *Xenophon* says it would be

^g Xen. Diod. Sic. Isocr. ad Phil. p. 252. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 10. §. 3. ^h Xen. l. 6. c. 4. §. 29, 30.
ⁱ Id. l. 6. c. 1. §. 7.

a difficult Task to reckon up the Cities *Jason* commanded, but it may be gueſt how large their Number was from this, that though the Tax impos'd on each Town was very moderate, the Oxen order'd were not leſs than one thouſand, and the other Cattle above ten thouſand. He had it publickly proclaim'd, that he would give a golden Crown as a Reward to that City, which ſhould be found to have fed the fineſt Beaſt for the Sacrifice. He order'd all the *Theſſalians* to be ready in Arms at the ſame time, having an Intent, as was given out, to preſide himſelf at the Aſſembly for the Games.

§. 34. The Inhabitants of the Country about *Delphi*^k, did not much approve *Jason's* Devotion, and a little ſuſpected him of a Deſign to ſeize on the Treasures of their God. It was confidently reported, that upon their conſulting the Oracle what Meaſures they ſhould take, if *Jason* ſhould meddle with any of the ſacred Treasury, the God ſhould reply, he would take Care of that^{*} himſelf. This Oracle has all the Appearance of being made after *Jason's* Death.

§. 35. ¹This great Man, in the miſt of his vaſt Undertakings, on which the Fate of *Greece* or *Aſia* depended, while he was muſtering and exerciſing the *Pheræan* Horſe, being now ſitting down, and waiting to anſwer ſuch as might

^k Xen. ib. §. 30

¹ Xen. ib. §. 31. Diod. Sic. Ol. 102. 3. 488. Val. M. 10. 9. 2.

have any Concern with him, was approach'd by seven young Men, who pretended to have a Quarrel with one another, which they would submit to his Decision. When they were all got about him, they attack'd him at once, stabb'd him in several Places, and almost cut him to Pieces.

§. 36. ^m The Causes that mov'd the Assassins to this Attempt, are not certainly known. We are told, that a Schoolmaster complaining to *Jason*, that he had been beaten and ill-used by some young Men, *Jason* permitted him either to take a Fine of thirty Drachmæ, ⁿ or give each of them ten Stripes. The Schoolmaster chose the latter Punishment, and the young Men, provok'd at the Indignity of this Usage, reveng'd themselves by the Death of *Jason*, who had put it in the Pedant's Power to treat them so insolently. ⁿ Others tell us, the young Men were not known to have acted from any other Principle, than a Desire of the Glory that was to be gain'd in freeing *Greece* from her Fears of a Man, whose Power was greater than his Virtue.

§. 37. 'Tis certain that the *Grecians* acted as if they had been highly obliged by the Murderers. ° The Guards coming in to their Master's Aid, one of the young Men was run through with a Spear, while he was stabbing

^m Val. Max. l. 9. c. 10. §. 2.

ⁿ Xen. ib. §. 32.

ⁿ Diod. Sic.

Jason. Another having already clear'd his Way through the Guards, and being got on Horseback, was stopp'd, and slain with several Wounds. The rest having prepar'd Horses, escap'd different Ways. Into whatever Cities they retir'd, they found not only a Safe Refuge, but such Honours as were owing to nothing, but the excessive Apprehensions, the Prospect of *Jason's* Tyranny, gave a People, who had too just a Value for Liberty, to think any Chains pleasing, or any Tyrant gentle enough to make Slavery no longer a Burthen.

§. 38. P *Polydorus* and *Polyphron*, Brothers to *Jason*, succeeded him in the Government, by the Choice of the *Thessalians*. They did not reign long together. As they were travelling to *Larissa*, *Polydorus* was found dead in the Morning, having been very well the Night before. His Brother *Polyphron* was suppos'd to have murder'd him in his Sleep; and his Actions, after he reign'd alone, confirm'd all the Suspicions of him. He murder'd the good *Polydamas*, whose Friendship *Jason* had taken such Pains to secure, and with him eight others of the principal Citizens of *Pharsalus*; he banish'd several of *Larissa*, and was preparing to proceed to greater Acts of Tyranny, when, after a Year's Reign, he was murther'd by *Alexander* the *Pheræan*;

P Xen. ib. §. 33, 34. Diod. Ol. 102. 7. 4. p. 489.

to whom the *Theſſalians* readily gave the ſupreme Power as the Reward of their Deliverance.

§. 39. ^a *Alexander* the *Pheræan*, was Son-in-Law to *Jaſon*, having married his Daughter *Thebe*. He was a Prince of great Valour; he carried on a War with *Thebes* and *Athens* with good Succeſs, and flew *Pelopidus*, General of the firſt of theſe Cities. Under him the Power of *Theſſaly* continued formidable by Sea and Land. He inherited too a good Share of *Jaſon's* Cunning; but had no other of his Qualities. His Avarice and Cruelty were equally exceſſive, and his eleven Years Reign was continually ſtain'd with Crimes of the blackeſt Nature. The *Theſſalians* ſuffer'd his Tyranny without being able to free themſelves, and were at laſt deliver'd by a Perſon, from whom they could never have expected it, the Tyrant's Wife.

§. 40. ^r The Enormity of *Alexander's* Crimes had made him ſuſpect every one, and his doting on his Wife did not hinder him from extending his Fears to her. He uſed to order a Slave to go before her into his Bedchamber with a drawn Sword, and ſome of his Guards to ſearch, leſt ſhe ſhould carry any Weapon in her Garments. Impatient at laſt of this Uſage, and ſuſpecting

^a Xen. ib. §. 35. Plut. in Pelop.

^r Xen. ib. §. 35.
36, 37. Cic. Off. 11. 7. Plut. in Pel. Canon. Nar. 50.
Diod. Sic. Ol. 105. 4. 517.

him of designing to take another Wife, she resolv'd to justify his Fears. She had two Brothers by the same Mother, but a different Father; ^f these she hid in the Palace, on a Day when she knew *Alexander*, giving himself up to Luxury, would be less on his Guard. When the Tyrant was gone drunk to Bed, and fast asleep, she seiz'd his Sword, and call'd in her Brothers to murder him. When they began to hesitate and draw back, she vow'd, if they delay'd any longer, she would wake the Tyrant. Frighten'd with her Threatnings, at last they slew him, while she held the Door.

§. 41. ^c *Tisiphonus* and *Lycophron* (so were the two Brothers call'd) being chosen Governors, acted at first like Men that had suffer'd from Tyranny, and would do nothing unworthy the glorious Character of the Deliverers of their Country; but the Love of Power enchanting them, they began to hire Mercenaries, and to attempt the securing themselves by the Death of such as were most likely to oppose their ambitious Projects. The *Thessalians* not having Strength enough of their own, call'd in *Philip* the *Macedonian* to their Assistance, who with Ease defeated and expell'd the Tyrants, and restor'd *Thessaly* to a precarious Freedom.

^f So Con. *Isocrates*, in a Letter to them, calls them Jason's Sons.

^c *Diod. Sic. Ol. 105. 4. p. 517.*

§. 42. From that Moment sunk all the *Thessalian* Greatness. Their new Protector, partly by Force, and partly by bribing the Leaders of the People in the Cities, reduc'd them all to an intire Subjection to him. The Use he made of their Troops, especially of their Horse, which were the best in *Greece*, engag'd him to secure their Obedience by a gentle Treatment. The *Thessalians* serv'd *Philip* and his Son *Alexander*, very faithfully, and poorly thought themselves happy, that they could escape the Desolation of their common Country, by aiding Barbarians in the Overthrow of its Constitution and Liberties.

F I N I S.

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MDCCLXXVII.

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